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Tributes to

Abraham Lincoln

Excerpts from newspapers and other sources providing testimonials lauding the 16th President of the United States

Surnames beginning with

Lo-Ly

From the files of the
Lincoln Financial Foundation Collection

71.2009 DEC 02107

19) LOCKE, WALTER

Trends Of The Times

Lincoln's Stature Grows With The Passing Years

James G. Randall, an authority on Abraham Lincoln, calls him a liberal. Stanley Pargellis, likewise an authority on Lincoln, calls him a conservative. Lincoln, with the years, has grown so great that each man sees in him the image of himself.

Lincoln, alive today, would be a Harry Truman, a Robert Taft, a Henry Wallace, a Dewey, Stassen, Tobey, Vandenberg. He was, in truth, "A. Lincoln."

Liberal or conservative, Lincoln's mind stemmed from Thomas Jefferson. His sympathies were with the underdog. He "put the man above the dollar," as the Populists used to say. Thus he came to say in his first annual message:

> Labor is prior to, and independent of, capital. Capital is only the fruit of labor and could never have existed if labor had not first existed.

Henry C. Link's Recovery of Morals pronounces the doctrine that human rights are more important than property rights "the dynamite of continuous class warfare." Link or Lincoln, take your choice.

Lincoln was a government spender. The question of spending in his day concerned internal improvements. Should the government at Washington improve the rivers, the harbors? Should not that be left to the states?

Let the central government do it, Lincoln said. If that government did not do it, it would not be done (To this day men and parties try to leave to the states things they don't want done at all, such as rent control). Lincoln said:

> If the nation refuse to make improvements of the general kind because their benefits may be somewhat local, a state may for the same reason refuse to make any improvement of a local kind because its benefits may be somewhat general.

Would that have made a New Dealer of Lincoln in 1936?

Lincoln was called by one gentle critic an ape. The man he threw into jail for sedition called him a tyrant. The leaders of his own party turned against him. "He cannot be elected," wrote Horace Greeley when Lincoln had been renominated in 1864. John C. Fremont was nominated as a "third party" candidate against him. For the first and last time in our party history there was a movement to withdraw a nomination which had been made.

Lincoln had supreme faith in the people. God must love them, he said, since he made so many of them. He asked:

> Why should there not be a patient confidence in the ultimate justice of the people? Is there any better or equal hope in the world?

The people responded with a corresponding faith in him. The politicians were wrong. Lincoln was re-elected. If he hadn't been, he would not despair. He said:

> While the people retain their virtue and vigilance, no administration, by any extreme of wickedness or folly, can very seriously injure the government in the short space of four years.

James G. Blaine did not think Lincoln the most vilified of presidents. The most vilified of presidents, to this expert in American political history, were Thomas Jefferson, John Quincy Adams and Andrew Jackson.

James G. Blaine died in 1893. Were he still alive, what presidents would he add to his list of the most vilified?

Note that the most vilified of presidents have been leaders of great forward movements as president. Jefferson was an "atheist," a "Jacobin." Jackson was every epithet current in his day. Woodrow Wilson was slandered shamelessly. Franklin Roosevelt—how "they" hated him!

Is it the conservatives, then, the reactionaries, our more cultured folk, who employ the wildest words against the presidents?

Lincoln's chief abusers were the "radicals." The "radicals" in his day were the men who hated him for his mildness toward the south, for his refusal to be rushed by them. Sumner, Stanton, Thad Stevens, Ben Wade wanted him impeached. They were aligned for war against him in congress when the bullet of John Wilkes Booth removed him as the obstacle to their plans.

He died and his stature (he was a member of congress just 100 years ago) grew greater with the piling up of years. A liberal? Here's his test: 'I shall try to correct errors where shown to be errors, and I shall adopt new views as fast as they shall appear to be true views."

—WALTER LOCKE.

MIAMI DAILY NEWS, Thursday, Feb. 12, 1948

DR. LOCKHART'S LINCOLN SERMON

Preached Yesterday at Franklin St. Church.

AN INSPIRING ADDRESS

Great President Compared With Washington and With His Contemporaries—Lincoln's Religion—His Interpretation of the Constitution—His Position on the Great Issues.

Manchester N.H. Union
2-15-09

Speaking on "The Centenary of Abraham Lincoln," the Rev. Dr. B. W. Lockhart preached one of the sermons yesterday that give the Franklin Street pulpit its conspicuous place in the churches of New Hampshire, a sermon that ranks high among the addresses and editorials with which religious and secular speakers and writers have sought for a week to express their own and the nation's estimate of the great President, and to press home the lessons of his career. It was delivered at both the morning and evening services, and was as follows, the text being Daniel x, 19 and xii, 13: "O man greatly beloved, fear not. But go thy way till the end be, for thou shalt rest, and stand in thy lot at the end of the days."

Mr. Lockhart's Sermon.

It is a hundred years since Abraham Lincoln came into the world. And although a single century does not give a deep perspective to a great historical subject, the world seems to have delivered final judgment that Lincoln is one of those rare and few immortals whose memory can never perish from among men. He was fortunate in having done his work, not on canvas like Raphael, a form of work particularly exposed to the envious tooth of time—where now are the canvases of Pheidias?—not merely in the air and memory of a single generation, like the orator, though true orator he was; not in books, though his inaugurals, and fragments of his speeches, will last as long as literature. No! Lincoln wrote his fame on the bones of a continent, on the conscience of a nation, on the affectionate imagination of a world. Lincoln, if I may use a word from the new psychology, wrought himself into the sub-conscious life of man, where sleep and wake "die mutter;"—those eternal instincts of liberty and perfection, with which this man has become identified as no other except one; so that his picture may be found in the Five Points of New York among the buried; and in huts of Japan where the East dreams of freedom and a new day. And wherever these eternal instincts wake and come to their own in succeeding centuries, Lincoln will wake with them and share their honor and their empire over the heart. A man like Lincoln once here cannot pass away. He haunts the memory of the world as the odor of a rose leaf haunts a book in which it is hidden.

Undoubtedly a Lincoln legend has been created. The worshipper cannot suffer any defect in the object of his devotion. It must be idealized. Thus Lincoln has been affirmed great, not only as a President, a liberator, a statesman and a man, but also as a soldier, a strategist, a manipulator of armies. But it is not wise to claim too much even for our gods. On all human things there will be found the stain of the common sweat and dust of our mortal state. It may be ously enough, Lincoln had Quaker ancestry. How much America owes to men of that heroic and peaceful strain!

Second, is the unconscious expression of his religious faith in writings whose purpose is not especially religious, and whose aim might have been reached without any such expression. Thus his inaugurals are solemn, highly prophetic documents, filled with the sense of God, and the judgment of God. Many of his letters breathe the spirit of a divine consolation to them that mourn. I will quote the one that he wrote to a bereaved mother, of which Richard Watson Gilder says, "It moves the hearts of generation after generation."

"Dear Madam: I have been shown in the files of the war department a statement of the adjutant general of Massachusetts that you are the mother of five sons who have died gloriously on the field of battle. I feel how weak and fruitless must be any words of mine which should attempt to beguile you from the grief of a loss so overwhelming. But I cannot refrain from tendering to you the consolation that may be found in the thanks of the Republic they died to save. I pray that our Heavenly Father may assuage the anguish of your bereavement and leave you only the cherished memory of the loved and lost and the solemn pride that must be yours to have laid so costly a sacrifice upon the altar of freedom."

We need only to reflect that men of the simplicity and greatness of Lincoln never use the name of God in any canting or hypocritical way, in order to see what that infinitely solemn and tender phrase —our Heavenly Father, means from his pen. I can well believe, that, as Generals Rustling and Sickles testified, he was wrestling in prayer while the battle of Gettysburg was being fought. So Livingstone prayed, "Give me Africa or I die!"

Third, is the deed. This we must all admit is the infallible test of a man's religion. When deed matches profession and word we surely need go no further. What did Linoeln do? He liberated a race; he unified a nation, and all without hate, without vengeance; all in a spirit of charity as well as justice. In connection with what other man in our history do you so instinctively think of these ancient words: "What doth the Lord require of thee, but to do justice, love mercy and walk humbly before God." The most astounding thing to me about Lincoln is that born and brought up as he was among barbarians—for the Clary Grove boys and such as they were nothing less—without any distinctive religious discipline, or splendid heroic religious leader to mould his locals; possessing as he did the fighting strain, and unafraid of the face of man, he should in spite of this illustrate as no other man those two unique Christian graces of love and humility. "He is the only white man with whom I ever talked an hour without being reminded of my color," said Fred Douglass. He saw in men, he lived in men only their manhood. Stars, garters, titles, medals never drew his homage, nor confused him in the least. He never bowed his head to a fine coat, nor refused to bow before a fine heart. Most marvelous of all he, who had so much reason to hate men, he, who was caricatured more than any man, who was treated as a root out of a dry ground hated none of his despisers; not even Stanton who "treated me," he says, "more brutally than any other man!" Christianity has made current the words of fellowship. But when we look for men to live the fellowship we find are not very abundant. We are stuffed with the pride of life, of learning, of family, race, caste, even religion. Wide alienating seas separate us from our kind. That pride did not exist in the heart of Lincoln. Conventionalities disappeared before his good will. No wonder one of his eulogists said of him, "He is the gentlest memory of our world."

Now I believe that Lincoln's essential Christian spirit saved the nation. I agree with Jacob Gould Schurman, president of Cornell, in the statement that "The Union could not have been restored without the unseen but, none the less real power that came to the nation through Lincoln's belief in God and confidence in the moral government of the world." He accepted the moral government of the world not in chipper optimism, not in pallid pessimism, but as one who believes that a just God works with the forces of redemption. With "sad lucidity of soul" he saw that prodigious penalties follow prodigious crimes, but his heart held no drop of bitterness, affirming with the prophets "The judgments of the Lord are true and righteous altogether." So he was patient, feeling sure that he was fighting the battles of the Most High. While all around him men were nervously shrieking in the name of morality, he was waiting the fateful hour with patience because he felt sure that they who side with God must win.

One of the remarkable things about Lin- could have been dealt to the southern cause.

I have sometimes wondered why Linoeln, half southern as he was, and hating bloodshed as he did, was not tempted to let the south secede. Would not "Erring sisters go in peace," have accorded well with his peace loving nature? The reason that he did not, apart from his deep hatred of slavery, and his perception that the issue between freedom and slavery must be fought out somehow, somewhere, he set forth in his first inaugural. As originally written the closing words were these: "The government will not assail you. You can have no conflict without being yourself the aggressors. You have no oath registered in heaven to destroy the government, while I shall have the most solemn one to preserve, protect and defend it. You can forbear the assault upon it. I cannot shrink from the defense of it. With you and not with me is the solemn question, 'shall it be peace or a sword?'" Lincoln interpreted the Constitution as Webster and Andrew Jackson did. He said: "The central idea of secession is the essence of anarchy." He could not believe that the Constitution which created a nation contained a clause providing for its dissolution; that the fundamental law of the Union denied to it, either expressly or by implication the first law of nations, that of self-preservation; that it could be so futile a document as to forbid a state from making war against a foreign power and to permit it to make war against the United States; or so lawless and absurd as not to have provided an arbiter in case of dissension. I have read recently that students of the period when the Constitution was framed say that the major part of those who framed it never meant to deny to a state the right to secede at will. But James Russell Lowell says, "History shows that the main opposition to the adoption of the Constitution was based on the argument that it did not allow that independence in the several states which alone would justify them in seceding." The lawyers not being able to settle the question, it was left to the ultimate arbiter of "blood and iron." And the basis we stand on now is the only logical basis we ever had to stand on. That there is and can be no legal right for any part of a nation to destroy the nation of which it is a part; the only right reserved to parts, as against the whole, being the inalienable natural right to rebel in case of unendurable injustice, to rebel, to wage a revolutionary war and to take the consequences. The south rebelled; they took the consequences. The consequences were exceedingly bitter. Yet it seems evident today that those very rebels are glad they were defeated. What a triumph that is for the far-seeing soul of Abraham Lincoln! And how his benignant spirit looking down from some far-off height of heaven must rejoice at the new spirit of union and friendship between sections once divided by so wide a river of blood.

Do we know enough of Abraham Lincoln to say what view he would take of the grave questions that confront us today? We know some things. We know that he did not believe in a negro ballot without an educational test. We know that he looked with the utmost concern on the crowd of office-seekers which flocked to Washington and he said: "There lies a greater danger for this government than the Rebellion." The office-seeker is the symbol of the spirit which regards the government as the instrument of private and partizan, and class gain. He is the symbol of injustice in a commercial society. He is the agent who exploits by means of the government the many in the interests of the few. He is both the symbol and the agent of the new form of slavery in which there is neither north nor south, nor east nor west, nor white nor black, but only wealth and poverty. And while we cannot say what measures Lincoln would advocate in regard to trusts and monopolies and labor unions, were he now alive, we do know that he would be following his best light to the end that "government of the people, by the people and for the people, should not perish from the earth."

We also have an explicit statement from Lincoln on the gravity of temperance legislation. In 1865 he said:

"After reconstruction the next great question will be the overthrow of the liquor traffic. The most effective remedy would be the passage of a law altogether abolishing the liquor traffic. If the prohibition of slavery is good for the black man the prohibition of the liquor traffic is equally good and constitutional for the white man. The liquor traffic is a cancer in society, eating out its vitals and threatening destruction and all attempts to regulate it will not only prove abortive but aggravate the evil."

The nation at large seems to be slowly coming over to this view of the matter. Science is more and more accumulating

Lockhart, Dr. B. W.

135
246

true that if his advice had been followed McClellan would have taken Richmond and Hooker won the battle of Chancellorsville, and Meade destroyed Lee's army after Gettysburg. But many newspapers gave the same advice. Certainly Lincoln did not select his generals with the insight Napoleon showed in that field. It may at least be doubted whether a man so human as Lincoln, so great and tender hearted could have been highly successful in manipulating armies according to the pitless mathematics of war.

"War," said Napoleon, "is the science of barbarisms." And Napoleon, being a barbarian himself, spoke here as an expert. But Lincoln was the most civilized man produced in America. For of what other great man can you say, he was without hate, that he was a perfect exponent of good-will towards men? I cannot quite reconcile this genius for goodness with a genius for war. The great generals of history, Hannibal, Caesar, Napoleon, Wellington, could give an order involving the slaughter of thousands without a quickening of the pulse.

Washington and Lincoln are America's two greatest men, by universal consent. And it were a vain question to ask which is the greater. Yet there is no doubt, I suppose, that Lincoln had a more varied and richer mental equipment as well as a deeper and more sensitive heart. I can not conceive of Lincoln as a great slave-owner, for example. Neither can I possibly think of him as a shrewd business man accumulating a great estate and dying one of the richest men of his time. Not that there is anything wrong or low in the money-making genius. I agree with Dr. Samuel Johnson, that a man can not be more innocently engaged than in making money, provided always that he makes it, not steals it. But it needs to be said that the pursuit of wealth is not the highest form of human activity; and the genius which acquires it is not the highest form of genius. The highest type of man cannot be thought of as belonging to that class. I cannot think of Milton or Burke as money makers; no, nor Cromwell, nor Gladstone. General Grant, the moment he descended into the arena of finance, fell an easy prey. And Lincoln, if he had had money might have given it to a beggar, what amounts to the same thing, lost it all by signing a friend's note. Napoleon was shrewd. He feathered his nest well with the spoils of empire. But Agassiz said he had no time to make money. Even in a money-worshipping time like ours it is fatal to a religious founder to say that she or he has sold his truth so as to grow rich by it. The truth is that the highest order of genius does not belong to the market place at all; and it is probable that Lincoln had he lived would never have become a master of finance. I like him better that way. "Blessed are ye poor," said our Lord, "for yours is the kingdom of heaven." That beatitude applies peculiarly to the men of supreme genius who, like Lincoln, have no time to make money.

Much has been written about Lincoln's religion. But it is a very simple matter to any but the sectarian. No sectarian can claim Lincoln. He joined no church. Neither did Milton, and for the same reason These men represented a higher form of Christianity than the church and could not subscribe to the crude and fatalistic and pagan creeds that lay heavy on their time. "Your God is my devil," said John Wesley to Whitefield, who represented the theology of Calvin. And there is no more striking and mournful aspect of the church than the debasement of its creeds in crude and savage ages. "They have killed a man over in Geneva," said Melanction, "for repudiating the fatalism of Zeno." The fatalism of Zeno and a God that was the contradiction of Christ, both cursed the churches of Lincoln's youth. That alone sufficiently explains the curious fact that a young man who knew the Bible from cover to cover so that he loved it, so that its morality and its grandeur suffused his speeches, could still read Tom Paine and Voltaire with much satisfaction. Tom Paine and Voltaire have come down to us as infidels. The horror of a century of Puritan detestation has clung to them. These men truly in some respects were far from admirable. Yet we know that they were both great soldiers in the war of the liberation of man; and that they both believed in God, righteousness and immortality.

There are three ways in which you can judge what a man's religion is.

First, in his own declaration as to what he believes. Lincoln said:

"When any church will inscribe over its altars as its sole qualification for membership the Savior's condensed statement of the substance of both law and Gospel, 'Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart and soul and mind, and thy neighbor as thyself,' that church will I join with all my heart and soul."

It seems that Lincoln's creed was the same as Whittier's. Both said: "I believe in God, in freedom, in love." Christ coin which this essential Christianity explains was the integrity of his moral judgments. He made no mistake in primary questions of righteousness. As child and man he was chaste and temperate. As a youth in New Orleans he saw a slave sold at auction and his whole moral being set irrevocably against slavery. His final judgment was expressed in the words: "If slavery is not wrong, nothing is wrong." Possibly we remembered that Jefferson had called it "the sum of all villainies." In the great strife between the Democratic and Republican parties he saw that the issue was a moral one, that the issue was in a word, slavery. He saw also that in the process of this struggle slavery would perish as surely as there was a God in Israel. The event proved him right. These things are commonplaces to us; but they were not in those days. The southern Democrats thought they could dominate the whole nation with their peculiar institution. The northern Democrats and many Republicans thought they could keep it pent up in a limited territory. But Lincoln saw and said from the start: "This nation cannot exist half slave and half free." This was not because he was more intelligent than Webster or Douglas, but because he had a larger moral horizon, and a deeper moral insight, and a profounder faith in God.

I do not call Douglas a bad man or an immoral man because he said: "I do not care whether slavery is voted up or voted down." I call him a man of narrow moral horizon. He did not see into the moral heart of things, neither did the Vatican when it sent words of encouragement to the south. Neither did England and France when they openly sympathized with the south. Neither did Mr. Gladstone when he made the premature statement that Jefferson Davis had made a nation which the north could not undo make. Neither did Thomas Carlyle when he said, "I never thought the rights of negroes much worth discussing in any form." The moral judgments of great men are often melancholy reading. But Lincoln saw clear through this tangle of sophistry, saw the shears of Atropos clipping the bonds of the slave, saw the avenging God driving the auctioneers out of His temple.

It seems half sad, half laughable now to think how men like Wendell Phillips and Garrison scolded him for not immediately issuing the proclamation of emancipation. Jesus and Paul knew slavery was wrong, yet they issued no edict. They knew the time was not ripe. Lincoln had other moral ends in view in addition to freeing the black man. He wished to insure freedom to the white man. To that end he wished to perpetuate the Republic, the Union. A great slave state side by side with a great free state is a monstrosity abhorrent to nature. It means eternal friction, eternal war, until the one is swallowed up by the other. Webster saw that just as Lincoln did. And because Phillips did not see it he fell short. The proclamation of emancipation was determined on, was written months before it was published. It was not to be published till its publication would help the Union. For if the Union perished how would that help the slave? The day of Gettysburg fell. The hour of doom struck. The proclamation took wing. The Union was saved. Five million souls were made free.

Another mark of his essential Christianity was his sympathy. He stands out from the canvas of history as great-hearted. Our thought of him conforms to old pictures of the shepherd carrying wounded lambs in his arms. He was without fear, but had no blood-lust. The swift facility for war which belonged to his day and generation had not touched him. We see him going to his office with one of his boys perched on his shoulder, the other dragging at his coat tails. He meets a girl crying because there is nobody to take her trunk to the station, and swings it on his shoulders and takes it there himself. An old Indian in the Black Hawk war, pursued by the regiment of which he is captain, flies to him for protection, and he offers to fight them man by man rather than allow the poor creature to be injured. He cannot bless a mired pig without lending a hand. He cannot resist an appeal for the pardon of a sentry who sleeps at his post though it may be subversive of discipline, and Stanton rages. No doubt his shrewd eye saw that such mercy put new esprit de corps into the army. It is the men of valor who see that love never faileth, even in the discipline of armies. At the last cabinet meeting which he attended before his assassination he said:

"I hope there will be no persecution, no bloody work after the war is over. No one need expect me to take any part in hanging or killing those men, even the worst of them. Enough lives have been sacrificed."

No wonder that Jefferson Davis said his death was the bitterest blow that ever verdict that the case of alcoholic liquors whether in excess or moderation is baneful. The conscience of the world is gradually waking up to see that a tree whose fruits are wholly wicked ought to be cut down. The attempts to regulate the liquor traffic have welded it into a powerful confederacy of wickedness, which dominates our cities and corrupts the source of political power. It is time now for the people to consider whether free government is possible in any state dominated by a league of distillers and brewers, whose business consumes with rottenness every fifth man born into the world. The tribute is too heavy, and it is time the payers of it grow weary of their age-long sweat of blood. When they do grow weary they will see the spirit of Abraham Lincoln going before them as a pillar of fire in the desert and the night.

We know that Lincoln regarded the negro as a man. Nature and grace having united to eliminate from his humanity those brutal and monstrous passions and prejudices which form the subsoil of the common soul, he could draw as close to a black man as to a white. He would tell us today that the negro being a man should have a man's chance secured to him by equal laws, and that the white race which grew rich on 250 years of the negro's unrequited toil should now make amends by 250 years of friendly cooperation in the means of the higher civilization. Yes, he would look at the growling sinister movement to make and keep the black race a race of industrial helots and pariahs as treason against the kingdom of God, and he would warn us that the ancient thunders of the divine judgments now sleep, but are not dead. Alas that when the hearts of men are set to do evil their eyes are sealed to the coming doom.

Let me finish this attempt at recalling the outlines of a great character by a word as to his appearance. Lincoln made the impression of homeliness on most observers. He himself jested on the subject. And yet many witnesses tell us that when his soul transfigured his face it was beautiful. L. W. Volk, a sculptor, a month or two before the Chicago convention which nominated him for President, in making his bust, took a most perfect mask of his face. The pictures of this life mask which I have seen, remind me—not of the Greek but the Roman type, of heroic strength and majesty. Yes, even beauty, though beauty is a very vague word. When Truman H. Bartlett in 1877 took a plaster copy of this mask to the oldest bronze founder in Paris to set it cast in bronze he put it down on a table side by side with a mask of the Abbe Lammennais. The first words of the founder were:

"What a beautiful face! Why, it's more beautiful and has more character than the abbe's. And we think that is the handsomest one in France."

It is a far cry from the homeliest face in Illinois to the handsomest face in France. Evidently the fascination of occult qualities which drew men to the face while living, works still, showing how the dead but sceptered sovereigns still rule our spirits from their urns. But when I look at that mask I like to remember these words: "Inexpressible sadness in his eyes, with a far-away look, as if they were searching for something they had seen long, long years ago, melancholy eyes that seem to wander far away. The kindest eyes ever placed in mortal head."

Out of that long confusion and turmoil of battle comes the voice of the Son of Man saying "O man, greatly beloved, fear not; for thou shalt rest and stand in thy lot at the end of the days!"

O Captain! my Captain! our fearful trip is done,
The ship has weathered every rack, the prize we sought is won,
The port is near, the bells I hear, the people all exulting,
While follow eyes the steady keel, the vessel grim and daring.
But O heart! heart! heart!
O the bleeding drops of red,
Where on the deck my captain lies
Fallen cold and dead.

O Captain! my Captain! rise up and hear the bells;
Rise up—for you the flag is flung—for you the bugle trills;
For you bouquets and ribbon'd wreaths—for you the shores a-crowding,
For you they call, the swaying mass, their eager faces turning;
Here Captain, dear father!
This arm beneath your head!
It is some dream that on the deck
You've fallen cold and dead.

My Captain does not answer, his lips are pale and still,
My father does not feel my arm, he has no pulse or will;
The ship is anchored safe and sound, its voyage closed and done,
From fearful trip the victor ship comes in with object won.

BACK TO FIRST PAGE, COL. 2

BACK TO FIRST PAGE, COL. 3

LODGE, HON. HENRY CABOT

THE BOSTON GLOBE—SATU

LESSONS FROM LINCOLN'S LIFE

Lodge Shows Folly of Unwise Criticism of Executives.

Declares True Rights of States Are Again in Danger.

The Massachusetts legislature fittingly observed the anniversary of the birth of Abraham Lincoln by special exercises in the house chamber. There at noon the senate and house met in joint convention and listened to an eloquent address by Hon Henry Cabot Lodge, senior U S senator from Massachusetts.

In the great chamber were gathered hundreds of prominent citizens. The galleries were thronged with women. In the speaker's private gallery were Mrs Eben S. Draper, Mrs Allen T. Treadway, wife of the president of the senate, and Mrs Joseph Walker, wife of the speaker of the house, with their friends. Officials of the republican state organization were present to listen to the address and, perhaps, to mark its effect.

Senator Lodge's address consumed about 45 minutes, and every word was closely followed, as he told the life of the great President, drew the lesson, and incidentally referred to the great question affecting California and the doctrine of states' rights.

Senator Lodge was cordially received when he entered the chamber under escort of the joint committee, consisting of Senator Spalding and Representatives Garcelon and Wolcott. The applause lasted from his entry to the chamber till he had reached the rostrum. Applause, strong and well sustained, broke out again when the president of the joint convention presented the orator of the day. The third and final burst came when Mr Lodge had concluded his effective peroration. Without respect to political party or allegiance the oration was commended on all sides as a very graceful, forceful and eloquent tribute to the martyred President.

After the exercises at the state house Pres Treadway of the senate dined Senator Lodge at the University club. In the party were Gov Draper, Lieut Gov Frothingham, Councilor Goetting, Hon E. U. Curtis, Atty Gen Malone, State Treasurer Chapin, Senators Turtle, Spalding and Dickinson, Speaker Walker, Jerome Jones and A. Shuman.

Flood of Criticism.

Senator Lodge was introduced to the joint convention at 12:35. In part, he said:

"Lincoln believed that the first step toward the salvation of the union was to limit the area of secession. He wished above all things, therefore, to hold in the union the border states, as they were then called. In those same states there was a strong union feeling and a very weak antislavery feeling. If they could be convinced that the controlling purpose of the war was to preserve the union the chances were that they could be held, but if they were made to believe that the real object of the war was the abolition of slavery, they probably would have been lost.

"Lincoln, therefore, had checked Fremont in issuing orders for the liberation of the slaves, and in the first year of the war had done nothing in that direction, for reasons which seemed to him good, and which, to all men today, appear profoundly wise. Abolitionists and extreme antislavery men everywhere were bitterly disappointed, and a flood of criticism was let loose upon him for his attitude in this matter, while at the same time he was abused by reactionaries and by the opposition as a radical and a black republican. Horace Greeley, an able editor and an honest man, devoted to the cause of the union, but a lifelong and ardent opponent of slavery, assailed the President in the New York Tribune. Here is Lincoln's reply:

Reply to Greeley.

"'As to the policy I "seem to be pursuing," as you say, I have not meant to leave anyone in doubt. I would save the union. I would save it the shortest way under the constitution. The sooner the national authority can be restored, the nearer the union will be the "union as it was." If there be those who would not save the union unless they could at the same time save slavery, I do not agree with them. If there be those who would not save the union unless they could at the same time destroy slavery, I do not agree with them. My paramount object in this struggle is to save the union, and it is not either to save or to destroy slavery. If I could save the union without freeing any slave, I would do it; and if I could save it by freeing all the slaves I would do it; and if I could save it by freeing some and leaving others alone I would also do that. What I do about slavery and the colored race I do because I believe it helps to save the union. I shall do less whenever I shall believe that what I am doing hurts the cause, and I shall do more whenever I believe doing more will help the cause. I shall try to correct errors when shown to be errors, and I shall adopt new views as fast as they shall appear to be true views. I have here stated my purpose according to my view of official duty; and I intend no modification of my oft-expressed personal wish that all men everywhere could be free.'

"What a reply that is! Using his unrivalled power of statement he sets forth his policy with a force which drives opposition helpless before it and renders retort impossible. He strips the issue bare of every irrelevant consideration and makes it so plain that no one can mistake it.

Answers Schurz.

"This was a case of specific criticism. There were others of a more general nature. A few months after Greeley wrote, Mr Lincoln received a letter from Carl Schurz. Mr Schurz, who has been a familiar figure to our present generation, was an able man and a very eloquent and effective speaker, especially upon economic subjects. He was also fond of criticising other people who were doing work for which they, and not he, were responsible. His system of criticism was a simple one. He would depict an ideal President or cabinet officer or senator and put him in an ideal situation, surrounded by conditions as they ought to be, and with this imaginary person he would then contrast, most unfavorably, the actual man who was trying to get results out of conditions which were not at all as they ought to be, but which, as a matter of fact, actually existed.

"Here is Lincoln's reply to Mr Schurz' criticism:

"'Washington, Nov 26, 1862.

"'My Dear Sir—I have just received and read your letter of the 20th. The purport of it is that we have lost the late election and the administration is failing because the war is unsuccessful, and that I must not flatter myself that I am not justly to blame for it. I certainly know that if the war fails the administration fails, and that I will be blamed for it, whether I deserve it or not. And I ought to blamed. If I could do better. You think I could do better, therefore you blame me already. I think I could not do better, therefore I blame you for blaming me. I understand you now to be willing to accept the help of men who are not republicans, provided they have "heart in it." Agreed. I want no others. But who is to be the judge of hearts or of the "heart in it?" If I must discard my own judgment and take yours, I must also take that of others; and by the time I should reject all I should be advised to reject I should have none left, republicans or others—not even yourself. For be assured, my dear sir, there are men who have "heart in it" that think you are performing your part as poorly as you think I am performing mine.'

Abuse of State Rights.

"In these two letters which I have quoted lie great lessons. There is not a man today, whose judgment would be of any value, that does not know that Lincoln, in these instances, was absolutely right and his critics hopelessly and ignorantly wrong. They teach us that a great executive officer, dealing with the most momentous problems, cannot do everything at once, that he must subordinate the lesser to the greater if he would not fall entirely, that he must do the best he can and not lose all vainly trying for the ideally best.

"He must steer, also, between the radical extremists on the one side and the reactionary extremists on the other; no easy task, and one which Lincoln performed with a perfection rarely seen among men.

"The strength of our American system resides in the fact that we have a union of states, that we are neither a weak and chaotic confederation, nor one highly centralized government. It is of the highest importance that the states should be maintained in all their proper rights and the constitution observed, but when the constitution is thrust forward every day, on every occasion, serious and trivial alike, whether applicable or inapplicable, and for mere purposes of obstruction, the government of the union is not injured, but the constitution is brought into contempt and the profound respect which we should all feel for that great instrument is impaired.

"In the same way the rights of the states, the true rights, are again in danger at this time, not from those who would trench upon them, but from those who abuse them, as did the advocates

CONGER

of secession. Nothing can accelerate the growth of the national power to an unwholesome degree so much as the failure of the states, from local or selfish motives, to do their part in the promotion of measures which the good of the whole people, without respect to state lines, demands.

"No such reproach, so far as I am aware, lies at the door of Massachusetts. The President of the United States has said, not once, but many times, that if every state had adopted corporation and railroad laws like those of Massachusetts there would have been no need of much of that national railroad legislation which he has advised and which has been largely enacted. He has also said, in regard to our laws regulating health that if every state had the same system there would have been but little need of the pure food act.

Treaties and States.

"Take another and far more serious phase of this same question. We can deal with foreign nations only through the United States. By the constitution a treaty is the supreme law of the land. No state can make a treaty and yet a treaty is worthless if any state in the union can disregard it at pleasure. The people of the United States will not long suffer their foreign relations to be imperiled or permit the peace of the country to be put in jeopardy because some one state does not choose to submit to the general government in a matter with which the general government alone can deal.

"Those who force state rights into our foreign relations will eventually bring on a situation from which those rights will emerge as broken and as discredited as they did from the civil war.

"It is not to be tolerated that one or two states shall assert the power to force the country into war, to gratify their own prejudices.

Washington and Lincoln.

"That nation has not lived in vain which has given to the world Washington and Lincoln, the best great men and the greatest good men whom history can show. But if we content ourselves with eulogy and neglect the teaching of their lives we are unworthy of the heritage they have left us. To us they offer lofty ideals to which we may not, perhaps cannot, attain, but it is only by aiming at ideals which are never reached that the great victories on earth are won.

"Yet when all is said it is not Lincoln's patient wisdom, his undaunted courage, his large abilities, that should really sink deepest in our hearts and minds today. Touch, if you can, as he touched the mystic chords of memory. Think of that noble character, that unwearied devotion to his country, that gentle heart that went out in sympathy to all his people. No one can recall all this and not feel that he is lifted up and made better. Remember him as he lay dying, having offered up the last great sacrifice on the altar of his country.

"Then, indeed, you feel his greatness, and you cry out in the words of Bunyan, 'So Valiant-for-Truth passed over and all the trumpets sounded for him on the other side.'"

WITH SPEECH AND SONG.

Massachusetts Commandery of Military Order of Loyal Legion Observed Day.

The seventh annual dinner and the 100th anniversary of the birth of Abraham Lincoln was celebrated at Young's hotel last night by the members by inheritance of the Massachusetts commandery of the military order of the Loyal Legion of the United States. About 35 were present.

Companion Torrence Parker was toastmaster and the speakers and guests of the evening were Col Arnold A. Rand, Capt Charles Hunt and Maj Bouve.

When the speeches, which dealt with the life and times of Lincoln, were finished the company gathered about the piano and old war songs were sung.

The committee in charge consisted of W. F. E. Roelofson, Henry G. Halladay and Walter H. Merritt.

MADE CROWD WONDER.

New Pennant on Top of Federal Building Meant Nothing.

Many people who happened to look at the flagstaff on the top of the federal building yesterday saw above the ensign that had been raised in honor of the Lincoln anniversary, a small pennant, in the regular colors of the flag, the red and white stripes tapering to the tip. In the corner of the wider part was the collection of stars on the blue background.

Some of the sticklers in the matter of the use of the U S flag wondered if there was any significance in thus flying the pennant above the ensign. But weather forecaster Smith, who lives days up under the dome of the federal building and therefore is supposed to know things that are done with the flagstaff above his head, declared that there was no significance attached to the display of colors.

"We thought" he said, "that a little more of the colors attached to the ensign might make it look more impressive. That was all there was to running the pennant up."

RDAY, FEBRUARY

GLORIFY LINCOLN.

Jews Crowd Temple Ohabei Shalom for Memorial.

Rabbi Eichler and Ex-Gov Bates Tell of Man Who Freed a People.

Temple Ohabei Shalom, Union-pk st, was crowded last evening as it has seldom been crowded before, the occasion being the celebration of Lincoln's centenary. A sad note in the exercises was the announcement of the death of Isaac Rosnosky, one of the organizers of the congregation and its president for nearly a quarter of a century.

A. S. COHEN.

Chairman A. S. Cohen delivered an address of welcome, in which he said that the Jewish people had special reasons to celebrate the present occasion, for, having been oppressed for centuries, they could glorify one that had freed a people.

Rabbi M. M. Eichler said in part:

"In a certain sense Lincoln is greater than Washington. While Washington was essentially an aristocrat, Lincoln was a man of the people. We adore Washington, but we love Lincoln. Washington appears to us as a demigod, dwelling apart, exalted above the plain of ordinary mortals; Lincoln is close to us. Rising from the depths of poverty and ignorance to fame and glory, he yet remained nature's child, simple and unpretentious. We may regard him as the type of democracy, the embodiment of the American ideal.

"Had he lived in ancient times Lincoln's name would have come down to us as that of a great prophet. Indeed, he was a seer, who discerned amid the maze of bitter conflicts the coming glory of the republic."

Maj William N. Clark, who served as page during Lincoln's term in congress and upon his inaugural guard at the White House, gave a graphic story of the assassination. Lincoln's Gettysburg oration was recited by Miss Theresa E. Cohen. Ex-Gov John L. Bates gave an interesting address on Lincoln's life and the history of the cause of the war.

The musical numbers on the program were rendered by Rev E. Wolkowich, and Mrs Annie E. Hollis and Miss Josephine Knight sopranos, Mrs Barbara Einstein and Miss Adeline Griggs altos, Lester M. Bartlett and Bruce Hobbs tenors, L. B. Merrill and Ed. Darmand basses. The committee in charge of the affair consisted of A. S. Cohen, Mark Simons and Jacob Simons.

CAMBRIDGE OBSERVANCE.

Gettysburg Address Delivered by School Children—Patriotic Bodies Participate.

Lincoln exercises were held in G. A R. hall, Brattle sq, Cambridge, last night under the auspices of Charles Beck post 56, G. A. R.; Charles Beck corps 2, W. R. C.; Thomas Wentworth Higginson camp 56, S. of V.; Kathrina L. Beedle tent 30, D. of V., and Horace Stevens circle 21, Ladies of the G. A. R.

The committee in charge of the evening comprised A. H. Ricker and T. P. Prentice of post 56, Mrs A. E. Rivinius of corps 2, Mrs C. M. Ladd of circle 21, Miss Helen A. Littlefield of tent 30 and Percy H. Taylor and Frank L. Kirchgassner of camp 56.

There was an address of welcome by chairman Ricker and invocation by Rev Norman E. Richardson. "America" was sung by the audience and there was instrumental music by an orchestra, followed by a patriotic composition by Master Irving Whittemore. A solo by Miss Harriet Hollander, assisted at the piano by Miss Bertha Hollander, readings by Walter I. Cowlishaw and an address by Hon John Read and one by Supt W. C. Bates of the school department followed.

The Gettysburg address was given by pupils of the ninth grade under the direction of Miss C. A. Ewell of Peabody school; reading, "Abraham Lincoln" by Garfield, given by Michael Corcoran, and benediction by Rev Mr Richardson.

CROWD HEARS CORNETISTS.

"The Battle Hymn of the Republic" and "America" Splendidly Rendered From Church Belfry.

A tribute to the memory of Lincoln which brought thousands of men, women and children to Boston Common yesterday afternoon, and caused them to stand with heads uncovered for several minutes, was the playing of "The Battle Hymn of the Republic" and "America" by cornetists in the belfry of the Park-st church.

A full half hour before the cornetists began to play a throng of people of all classes had congregated about the subway stations on the Common and along the malls. The sidewalk along Tremont st, and even on Boylston st, was thronged. Those who could not wait for the music were obliged to walk in the street.

The 1200 women attending the revival service in the church auditorium remained in their seats after the services to listen.

The hymn was played four times and during the tremendous applause the players rested before playing "America."

When the first sweet strains welled out upon the air all heads were bared and bowed until the last note died an echo in the distance.

Lodge. Henry Cabot

Lodge, Senator

MR. LODGE'S SPEECH

It was an exceedingly practical application of the Lincoln lesson to present-day questions which Senator Lodge made in his address to the Legislature today. The results of the war have brought, he believes, a new peril in the disproportionate growth in the power of the Central Government. The fanatics of State rights and no one else, he says, have brought this peril on themselves and on the country. In his first public speech, delivered on July 4, 1878, Mr. Lodge referred to the State rights principle as just as vital and essential as the national principle itself. If carried to an extreme it would mean anarchy; entirely ignored it would result in a degree of centralization that would inevitably mean despotism. It must be maintained in its proper place.

For a leading Republican senator in this period of remarkable extension of Federal activities thus to impress upon his constituents the large part which the State rights theory should play in our system is at once novel and suggestive. Mr. Lodge asserts that no danger exists that the growth of the Central Government will be too slow; all the danger is in the other direction. Nothing accelerates this growth of national power so much as the failure of the States to do their part in the promotion of measures which the good of the whole people obviously demands. President Roosevelt was quoted as saying that if every State had adopted the corporation and railroad laws of Massachusetts much of the national legislation which he has secured would have been unnecessary. If every State had the same food regulations that we have, little need would have existed for a pure food law. Where Massachusetts has been exceptionally alert other States have not been, either from sheer neglect or a subordination to selfish local interests.

The voters of this State have not been, as a rule, critical of the growth of Federal power. Their long-sustained Republicanism has materially affected their opinions on this issue. It is a permissible inference from Mr. Lodge's speech, that Massachusetts, which does many things so well as to be little in need of Federal overlordship for the safety and well-being of its people, should lead in resistance to the present-day absorption of power by the Washington Government. It should turn its Republicanism in that direction. Mr. Lodge exhibits commendable courage in bringing home to his party associates here this lesson from the Lincoln experiences.

People customarily feel more confidence in national than in State agencies. They welcome the turning of the irrigation enterprise, for example, over to a Washington bureau rather than having irrigation managed by the legislatures of Rocky Mountain States, even if there were no physical objections to the geographical distribution of the task. The Federal Government seems to have more money and to maintain projects on a more [illegible] basis than the States, and so Americans are sending to Washington work which might to better advantage be done at home. The whole course of legislation is in that direction. Nor is it strange, since the Federal Government is thus usurping State functions, that it should want to absorb the revenues which legitimately belong at home. The inheritance tax, for example, should clearly be a source of revenue for the States, particularly since thirty-four of them are already collecting it; but the probabilities are large that in the next provision for meeting the deficit the Federal Government will include this. Such a tax will apply very unequally upon the different parts of the country, a State like our own paying much more than its proper proportion.

Mr. Lodge's address is in other respects also characteristically strong and practical. The work of Lincoln as he sketches it, affords an example of how difficult it is for the man in a place of position and authority, charged with responsibility, to meet all the wishes of even his friendly advisers. This enforces the need of a tolerant attitude on the part of those who are otherwise disposed to be criticised towards the man who is bearing the great burden, and familiar with the actual obstacles in the road over which he must travel.

Lodge, Henry Cabot

SENATOR LODGE PAYS ELOQUENT TRIBUTE TO MARTYR PRESIDENT

United States Senator Henry Cabot Lodge paid an eloquent and scholarly tribute to the character and deeds of Abraham Lincoln before the Massachusetts Legislature, sitting in joint session, to-day. Incidentally he praised the corporation and railroad laws of Massachusetts, which the New Haven road has violated, and said that State rights are most endangered, not by those who trench upon them, but by those who abuse them. He said that Lincoln sought to save and not to destroy. His speech in part is as follows:

"I know not how it may be with others who, in these days of commemoration, will speak of Lincoln, but to me the dominant feeling, as I approach my subject, is a sense of helplessness and a sharp realization of the impossibility of doing justice to such an occasion.

Pause to Pay Homage.

"To attempt here a review of his life would be labor lost. Ten stately volumes by those who lived in closest communion with him, and who knew him best, were not more than adequate to tell fitly the story of his life. That story, too, in varying form, is known to all the people, familiar in their mouths as household words.

"From the early days of the dire poverty, from the log cabin of the shiftless pioneer, ever moving forward in search of a fortune that never came, from the picture of the boy working his sums or reading his Bible and his Milton by the red light of the fire, the marvellous tale goes onward and upward to the solemn scene of the second inaugural and to the burial of the great chief amid the lamentations of the nation. We know it all, and the story is one of the great treasures of the American people.

"We can render to him what I venture to think is the truest homage, that which I believe he would prize most, and compared to which any other is little more than lip service. We can pause to-day in the hurry of daily life and contemplate that great, lonely, fragile figure, that imagination with its touch of the poet, that keen, strong mind, with its humor and its pathos, that splendid commonsense and pure character, and then learn from the life which the possessor of all these qualities lived, and from the deeds which he did, lessons which may not be without value to each of us in our own lives, and in teaching us the service which we should render to our country.

Saved Border State.

"Lincoln believed that the first step toward the salvation of the Union was to limit the area of secession. He wished above all things, therefore, to hold in the Union the border States, as they were then called. If those States were added to the Confederacy the chances of saving the Union would have been terribly diminished. In those same States there was a strong Union feeling and a very weak anti-slavery feeling. If they could be convinced that the controlling purpose of the war was to preserve the Union the chances were that they could be held, but if they were made to believe that the real object of the war was the abolition of slavery, they probably would have been lost.

"Lincoln, therefore, had checked Fremont in issuing orders for the liberation of the slaves, and in the first year of the war had done nothing in that direction, for reasons which seemed to him good, and which, to all men to-day, appear profoundly wise. Abolitionists and extreme anti-slavery men everywhere were bitterly disappointed, and a flood of criticism was let loose upon him for his attitude in this matter, while at the same time he was abused by reactionaries and by the opposition as a radical and black Republican.

Assailed by Schurz.

A few months after Greeley wrote, Mr. Lincoln received a letter from Carl Schurz. Mr. Schurz, who has been a familiar figure to our present generation, was an able man and a very eloquent and effective speaker, especially upon economic subjects. He was also fond of criticising other people who were doing work for which they and not he, were responsible. This system of criticism was a simple one. He would depict an ideal President or cabinet officer, or senator, and put him in an ideal situation, surrounded by conditions as they ought to be, and with this imaginary person he would then contrast, most unfavorable, the actual man who was trying to get results out of conditions which were not at all as they ought to be, but which as a matter of fact, actually existed.

Lincoln's paramount purpose was to save the Union, and he saved it. His critics thought he was sacrificing the anti-slavery cause. He thought otherwise, and he was right. At the accepted time he emancipated the slaves and signed the death warrant of human slavery. Had he struck at the wrong moment he might have ruined the Union cause and thereby left the slaves in bondage. He was a great statesman and he knew all the conditions, not merely part of them. He therefore succeeded when his critics would have failed.

Union of States.

"The strength of our American system resides in the fact that we have a union of States, that we are neither a weak and chaotic confederation, nor one highly centralized government. It is of the highest importance that the States should be maintained in all their proper rights and the Constitution observed, but when the Constitution is thrust forward every day, on every occasion, serious and trivial alike, whether applicable or inapplicable, and for mere purposes of obstruction, the government of the Union is not injured, but the Constitution is brought into contempt and the profound respect which we should all feel for that great instrument is impaired.

"In the same way the rights of the States, the true rights, are again in danger at this time, not from those who would trench upon them, but from those who abuse them, as did the advocates of secession. Nothing can accelerate the growth of the national power to an unwholesome degree so much as the failure of the States, from local or selfish motives, to do their part in the promotion of measures which the good of the whole people, without respect to State lines, demands.

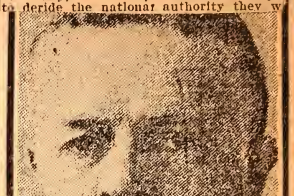
"No such reproach, so far as I am aware, lies at the door of Massachusetts. The President of the United States has said, not once, but many times, that if every State had adopted corporation and railroad laws like those of Massachusetts there would have been no need of much of that national railroad legislation which he has advised, and which has been largely enacted. He has also said, in regard to our laws regulating health, that if every State had the same system there would have been but little need of the pure food act.

Refers to Jap Question.

"Take another and far more serious phase of the same question. We can deal with foreign nations only through the United States. By the Constitution a treaty is the supreme law of the land. No State can make a treaty and yet a treaty is worthless if any State in the Union can disregard it at pleasure. The people of the United States will not long suffer or permit the peace of the country to be put in jeopardy because some one State does not choose to submit to the general government in a matter with which the general government alone can deal.

"Those who force State rights into our foreign relations will eventually bring on a situation from which those rights will emerge as broken and as discredited as they did from the Civil War. They were the enemy, powerful in their influence upon the minds of men, with which Lincoln grappled and which he finally overthrew. The danger to the rights of States does not arise now, any more than it did in 1861, from the incursions of the national government, but from the follies of those who try to use them as a cover for resistance to the general government in the execution of the duties committed to it.

"It is not to be tolerated that one or two States shall assert the power to force the country into war, to gratify their own prejudices. Their rights will be protected by the general government sedulously and fearlessly, but if they venture to usurp and to deride the national authority they will



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be forced to yield to the power of the Union and the State rights which they have wrongfully invoked, and their indifference to the interests of the nation will meet the punishment they deserve.

"If the advocates of the extreme doctrine of State rights use them not for the protection of local self-government, but to promote selfish interests, hostile to the general welfare, or still more to embarrass and paralyze the national government in the performance of the duties for which it was created, the people will not endure it and State rights will be unduly weakened, if not swept away, a result greatly to be deplored.

Real Revolutionists.

"The men who sought to rend the Union asunder in order to shelter slavery beneath State rights, the reactionaries who set themselves against the march of human liberty, were the real revolutionists. Lincoln's policy was to secure progress and right by the limitation and extinction of slavery, but his mission was to preserve and maintain the Union. He sought to save, not to destroy, yet he wrought at the same time the greatest reform ever accomplished in the history of the Union. Let us learn from him that reaction is not conservatism, but that violent change and the abandonment of the traditions and the principles which have made us great is not progress, but revolution and confusion.

"That nation has not lived in vain which has given to the world Washington and Lincoln, the best great men and the greatest good men whom history can show. But if we content ourselves with eulogy and neglect the teaching of their lives we are unworthy of the heritage they have left us. To us they offer lofty ideas to which we may not, perhaps cannot attain, but it is only by aiming at ideals which are never reached that the great victories on earth are won.

"Yet when all is said, it is not Lincoln's patient wisdom, his undaunted courage, his large abilities, that should really sink deepest in our hearts and minds to-day. Touch, if you can, as he touched, the mystic chords of memory. Think of that noble character, that unwearied devotion to his country, that gentle heart that went out in sympathy to all his people. No one can recall all this and not feel that he is lifted up and made better. Remember him as he lay dying, having offered up the last great sacrifice on the altar of his country.

"Then, indeed, you feel his greatness, and you cry out in the words of Bunyan, 'So Valiant-for-Truth passed over, and all the trumpets sounded for him on the other side.'"

2-12-09

Lodge, John
Congressional Record
February 26, 1951

Birthday

Thye

Lincoln Day Dinner Address by Governor Lodge, of Connecticut

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD J. THYE

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, February 26 (legislative day of Monday, January 29), 1951

Mr. THYE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD a Lincoln Day dinner address delivered by Gov. John Lodge, of Connecticut, in Minneapolis, Minn., on February 17, 1951.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Governor Youngdahl, distinguished guests, ladies, and gentlemen, it is a very real pleasure for me to come to your great city of Minneapolis and join with you on this significant occasion.

To us in the East, the words "Minneapolis" and "Minnesota" are freighted with meaning. The unsurpassed scenic beauty of your State, with its vast natural resources, your storied Mesabi Range, your useful and varied industries, your turbulent early history, and your sturdy and self-sufficient citizenry all go to make a legend upon which we dwell with pleasure and interest.

I may say also that we in New England have long been aware of Minneapolis as a cultural center. Your writers, like Sinclair Lewis and others, have deeply enriched American thought and literature. The fame of your great university and other institutions of higher learning is well known to us. We are familiar, too, with the renown of your symphony orchestra; and may I say that we are grateful to you for sending us an Ormandy and a Mitropolous to lead our own famous orchestras to new heights of accomplishment.

Hence, my own great enjoyment in being privileged to visit Minneapolis and to have the honor of addressing you here this evening.

We are gathered to observe the one hundred and forty-second anniversary of the birth of Abraham Lincoln. Yet this occasion should not be merely one of commemoration but should be rather a time for our rededication to the timeless truths for which Lincoln worked, for which he suffered and for which he died. These truths have, I think, been well understood by many people in Minnesota. For you have, during the past few years, elected to the high office of Governor of your great State such outstanding public servants as Harold Stassen, now president of the University of Pennsylvania; EDWARD THYE, now United States Senator, and your present great humanitarian, Luther W. Youngdahl. These are all men of whom the State of Minnesota can be justly proud. They have shown that they truly understand the function of the Republican Party. During a time of rapid change and increasing international tension they have demonstrated a vigorous comprehension of the needs and aspirations of the people of our country.

I have read with deep interest and real profit the penetrating inaugural address of Governor Youngdahl to your legislature. He speaks from tested experience and with a warm and understanding heart. The people of Minnesota are fortunate to have a man of his calibre at the head of the State.

It has been my privilege and pleasure to serve during my 4 years in Congress with the Congressmen whom you have sent to represent you in Washington. In particular I have had the stimulating pleasure of serving as a member of the Committee on Foreign Affairs with the Representative from the Fifth Congressional District of Minnesota, WALTER H. JUDD. He is my good friend. When I decided to run for Governor of Connecticut one of the real regrets which I had was that I would no longer be in frequent and close contact with this splendid man. There can be no more rewarding experience in life than that of a fine friendship. During my time in Washington I developed for WALTER JUDD not only a high regard but a real affection. WALTER JUDD's standard of service is truly Lincolnian in its high-mindedness and in its simplicity. The usual words of praise seem to lose their meaning when applied to a man of such remarkable intellectual attainments and of such significant moral purpose. I recall reading some years back an article in Readers Digest entitled "Wanted: More Men Like Dr. JUDD." I underscore that exclamation with emphasis. For WALTER JUDD has brought to his service in Congress not only a love of humanity, not only a zest for work, not only unimpeachable honesty, not only a deep sense of honor but in addition a lively understanding of the problems which afflict mankind and a breadth of vision in the field of foreign affairs which have marked him as a leader. He is the first to deplore that recent events have proved him to be tragically right. It is a tribute to the people of his district that they have understood this exceptional citizen and have returned him to Washington, this last time by a wide majority. He richly deserves this expression of confidence. He is a shining light of truth and honor in a world which has a desperate need of both. WALTER JUDD is the kind of Republican who acts in the true spirit of Abraham Lincoln.

Abraham Lincoln, the sixteenth President of the United States, is very much alive. In a real sense he belongs to the ages, to our age. For in his 56 years of life he stamped an image of himself on the tapestry of history and made an enduring impression on the minds of men and women the world over. He was a pioneer. He pioneered in the remote reaches of uncharted thought; in the field of action, and in the lonely depths of the human soul. His memory has a very special meaning in this fateful year. It has a meaning particularly for us Republicans who, while we bear much responsibility, have not yet received from the people sufficient power to discharge it.

Lincoln felt humble before his grave responsibilities. We feel humble as we contemplate his towering figure. But it is not enough to talk about Abraham Lincoln—the Republican Party must act like Lincoln. We must translate into effective action the inarticulate aspirations of millions of Americans in order that we may meet the challenge of leadership which is presented to us.

Lincoln said: "The dogmas of the quiet past are inadequate to the stormy present. The occasion is piled high with difficulty and we must rise with the occasion. As our case is new so we must think anew and act anew. We must disenthrall ourselves, and then we shall save our country."

I believe that our Republican platforms, both in Minnesota and in Connecticut, reflect an urgent understanding of this inspiring exhortation.

The words of Lincoln constitute a veritable bible for the guidance of our party.

We must think of freedom not as a right to be used, but as a privilege to be earned and passed on undiminished to those who come after us. We must be alert to defend and deserve that privilege. We must recognize that the concept of freedom is still the most modern, the most revolutionary idea which man has discovered as a basis for his spiritual, political, and economic life on this planet. We must so lead our individual lives as to vindicate the enormous sacrifices made in the cause of freedom by millions of people. We must fulfill our daily obligations to the system which we enjoy in order that when we have been gathered to our fathers we shall have made a lasting contribution to the cause of liberty—in order that we too shall have earned for our generation a grateful remembrance. We must give more than lip service to the memory of the great man whose birth we are gathered here to celebrate.

The Republican Party was born in 1856 in the midst of the turmoil and terrible disagreements which preceded the Civil War. In this year of crisis the Republican Party must inspire a fresh, vital, and vigorous approach to the problems which face our people in order that a ravaged and devastated world may have a new birth of freedom. In 1951 as in 1861 the issue is freedom or slavery.

Never before in the history of our party, never since this Nation was founded, has any group had such a magnificent opportunity for service and leadership as the Republican Party has today. If we Republicans fail to grasp that opportunity our failure will be as final as the opportunity is fleeting. If we fail America fails. If America fails then western civilization with all its culture and capacity for growth will be swallowed up in the maw of godless Soviet aggression.

Accordingly, we are faced with exciting opportunities for service to mankind which are equalled only by our responsibilities in this trembling hour of destiny. Lincoln's deep understanding of human affairs can and must serve as a beaconlight to guide our troubled footsteps.

"Ye shall know the truth and the truth shall make you free."

We shall find the truth in Lincoln.

"The legitimate object of government," said Lincoln, "is to do for a community of people whatever they need to have done but cannot do at all, or cannot so well do for themselves in their separate and individual capacities. In all that the people can individually do as well for themselves, the government ought not to interfere."

How admirably this expresses the true function of government. How brilliantly it declares the right purpose of the Republican Party. That we are not faced with the choice of being horse-and-buggy die-hards on the one hand or advocates of the me-too philosophy on the other is illustrated by the modern-minded programs under way in Minnesota and Connecticut. For example, we Republicans in Connecticut declare: "Whenever social or economic problems can be solved only by public effort, we believe the power of government should be used in their full solution."

It is not enough to do as so many Democrats suggest—turn our social problems over to the Federal Government; nor should we turn our backs on these problems. There is a happy middle ground for industrious, re-

sourceful, and creative action. Certainly these social ills demand attention. But the remedy, the method is all important. Our party is not anchored to a dead past but to the constructive and timeless philosophy of Lincoln. Ours is not to imitate and follow while others lead. Neither should we oppose the opposition when it is doing something right. It is not enough to criticize and condemn. We must, above all, conserve, construct, and create.

Lincoln recognized the dangers inherent in the high cost of government. He had a systematic interest in the problems which face the working people. He said: "To secure to each laborer the whole product of his labor or as nearly as possible is a worthy object of any good government." We know how large a share of the worker's salary is absorbed in Federal, State, and municipal taxes. We know, too, that the function of government is to perform services for the people. But in order to retain the right to enjoy the fruits of their labor, it is imperative that the working people should not be weighted down with exhorbitant taxes.

Of course, we canont pay for the defense of our country without levying higher taxes. But I deplore the fact that, in the President's $71,500,000,000 budget, the items for nonessential spending are larger than at any time in our history. These can and should be substantially reduced. We must hold in abeyance some of our cherished plans in order to create a world in which these plans can be fulfilled.

Lincoln understood that there is no natural antagonism between capital and labor. The interests of the people who work come ahead of the interests of capital and this, may I remind you, is traditional Republican policy. Lincoln said: "Capital is only the fruit of labor, could never have existed if labor had not first existed. Labor is the superior of capital and deserves the much higher consideration." But he went on to say that it is right: "That men who are industrious and sober and honest in the pursuit of their own interests should, after awhile, accumulate property and after that should be allowed to enjoy it in peace." Labor and capital are component parts of a cooperative effort.

Stressing the community of interest which binds the several segments of our society together, Lincoln said: "Let not him who is houseless pull down the house of another, but let him work diligently and build one for himself, thus by example assuring that his own shall be safe from violence when built."

This community of interest is founded on equality of opportunity. Listen again to Lincoln: "We feel, therefore, that all legal distinction between individuals of the same community founded in any such circumstances as color, origin, and the like, are hostile to the genius of our institutions, and incompatible with the true history of American liberty."

I have grown weary of the hypocritical incantations on the altar of civil rights in which the Democrat Party seasonally indulges. The Democrats find this a convenient issue to drag out during election years, to kick around for vote-getting purposes and then put back on the shelf to gather dust while they are in power. The Republican Party traditionally has stood for equality of opportunity. It stands for equality of opportunity today. Lincoln said: "Let us discard all this quibbling about this man and the other man, this race and that race and the other race, being inferior and therefore they must be placed in an inferior position. Let us discard all these things, and unite as one people throughout this land, until we shall once more stand up declaring that all men are created equal."

Let us enlarge our concepts to the circle of our duties. Men who are good enough to die for their country are good enough to receive equal treatment under our laws.

Lincoln believed in the dignity of the individual. He believed that the individual is the complex heart of society. He was an eloquent exponent of the whole concept of individual freedom. We must not allow the rigors of the present emergency to obscure the central truth that freedoms and responsibilities are inseparable.

Indeed the world-wide attack on freedom by the ruthless forces of Soviet imperialism underscore the validity, the urgency of this thesis.

Just as we must continue our efforts to assure equal freedom in our own land so after two world wars we must now be convinced that we in the United States cannot remain indifferent to a threat to freedom in other parts of the world. We know deep down in that region of the heart in which we dwell alone that a world contracted by science must be united by freedom if peace is to prevail.

On the subject of foreign affairs also we find that Lincoln had profound and challenging thoughts. He said: "In our dealings with other nations let us by all means give a little here and give a little there but never should we do all the giving. Rather in the case of a long and threatening emergency let us prepare for the worst and work for the best."

We are preparing for the worst in Minnesota and Connecticut. I know that in addition to safeguarding human life and property you in Minneapolis have the problem of protecting a large and important railway center and defending key industries against sabotage and enemy assault. In Connecticut we also are concerned with the safety of our citizens and with the security of factories vital to the defense effort.

In spite of the prolonged lack and guidance from Washington, civil-defense plans are now under way in most of our States. Interstate compacts are being signed. Although the Federal Government will provide financial assistance in certain aspects of civil defense the problem of protecting the bombs, the lives, the industries of the people of Minnesota and Connecticut is primarily a State problem. I commend your distinguished Governor for all that he is undertaking in this field.

We must prepare for the worst in other ways also. Our economy cannot be effectively mobilized in a period of inflation. This means that the Treasury Department should stop forcing Government bonds at low-interest rates into the Federal Reserve System. It means that the President should make better use than he has yet made of his control powers so that the consumer with fixed wages and fixed income is not heavily penalized. We must create a spirit of national unity. This means discarding the discredited, threadbare plan for socialized medicine. It means taking labor legislation out of politics. It means really cutting nondefense spending to the bone. It means true bipartisan consultation in the field of foreign affairs. It means the mobilization of our manpower for our Armed Forces in sufficient strength to discharge our international commitments and to insure our national security in a dangerous world.

It has been the fashion in recent weeks to talk about the great debate that is going on regarding our foreign policy.

And yet if we examine this debate closely, we find that the area of agreement is much larger than the area of disagreement. We find for instance that despite the heartbreaking ebb and flow of battle in Korea there is no public clamor for the withdrawal of American troops. Yet we cannot long postpone a high policy decision regarding this anxious question. We find that there is substantial agreement as to the need for collective action in Europe in case of war. There is substantial agreement that we must have a vast rearmament program, that we must render military assistance to the Atlantic Pact nations and to the French in Indochina. It is not suggested that we should cut either our own military budget or the amounts provided under the Mutual Defense Assistance Act. There is some disagreement regarding the part that Western Germany should play in the defense of Western Europe. There is also some disagreement regarding the number of troops which we should send to Europe. Certainly we should not have to bear the full load of combat alone. Certainly we should accept and encourage help from the anti-Communist forces in Formosa and in China, from Greece, from Yugoslavia, from former enemy nations, from Turkey and Spain, from all former neutral nations, and, of course, from our allies in the Atlantic Pact. We should also make it possible for anti-Communists from countries now under Soviet domination to play their part in the struggle. We need all the friends we can get.

It is a tragic fact that our lamentable far-eastern policy has resulted not in stability but in a war which so far has cost us the frightening total of 60,000 casualties. Those who are responsible for that policy are fond of saying that the Republicans who attack their far-eastern policy are the same Republicans who are isolationists when it comes to Europe. While the word "isolation" has become a weasel word through much misuse and abuse, I can say that I know many Republicans in Congress, including by good friend WALTER JUDD, who have not found it necessary to forget Europe while looking at China. We favored Marshall-plan aid, to Greece and Turkey, the Atlantic Pact, the Mutual Defense Assistance Act, and many other measures which have as their purpose the creation in Europe of a political climate propitious for the preservation of freedom. The inconsistency rests with those in high office who chose to label the Communist surge in China as simply an agrarian reform movement and who were opposed to Chiang Kai-shek because, said they, the anti-Communist forces had lost their will to fight. How much will to fight would there be in Europe, I ask you, if we were to withdraw our support? I favor aid to anti-Communist China. I favor aid to the anti-Communists in Europe. I believe that it is not only in our national self-interest, that it is not only in accordance with our commitments but that it is our moral obligation to help our friends in Europe to withstand the Red tide. For us to postpone our assistance until they have erected a sure dam against the Red flood is to postpone it until such aid is no longer necessary. Moreover we need the bases; we need the manganese and other raw materials which might well be denied to us if Western Europe were to succumb; we need their manpower. We need to encourage their will to fight just as we should have done in Asia.

Certainly the people of Western Europe can provide manpower and skills even though they cannot provide dollars or all the equipment and arms which they need. Certainly also they need to know that we will not wait until they have been conquered before we take action, that our policy is not one of liberating Europe but one of protecting Europe from conquest. They need the assurance that this whole affair is a copartnership. Because of our predominance and general national health we must provide the leadership.

I do not believe that the Congress is in a position to decide on the exact number of our troops which should be sent to Europe, although the decision to send them is a matter of the highest policy on which the Congress should be consulted.

I am content not to linger over past mistakes. I have no desire to rake over the old dead coals of Yalta, Tehran, Potsdam, and the arrangements by which the city of Berlin

Lodge, John

became an island completely surrounded by Red territory. I am glad not to stress the lack of vision and the appalling series of blunders and betrayals which permitted the Soviet empire almost unimpeded to swallow up one-third of the world's total population. But I do think that our leaders in Washington should stop defending these indefensible acts, should stop trying to justify their incredible mistakes and should instead attempt to create unity by trying to correct these errors. This is a time for concerted and resolute action.

We must mobilize, yes, but we shall not win this struggle without generating in our own land the great motive moral forces which for so many decades have guided our people onward on their great adventure. We know that our material world will crash in splinters around us unless it has some lofty thoughts to hold it up. There is a need for unity, yes, but there is an even greater need for the spiritual fervor, the deep convictions without which we cannot emerge victorious. Peace is a product of strength; war is a derivative of weakness. Our salvation lies in a dynamic faith in freedom. It lies in our determination not to yield or to be overcome. It is inherent in our resolve to ignite throughout the free world the temper, the energy, and the zeal which alone can bring us peace.

This, I believe, is the challenge confronting us this evening as our thoughts turn toward the great founder of our party. Let us hearken anew to Lincoln's luminous words: "Theirs (our American ancestors') was the task—and nobly they performed it—to possess themselves, and through themselves us, of this goodly land, and to uprear upon its hills and its valleys a political edifice of liberty and equal rights; 'tis ours only to transmit these—the former unprofaned by the foot of an invader, the latter undecayed by the lapse of time and untorn by usurpation—to the latest generation that fate shall permit the world to know."

If we are to avoid the "twin gulfs of immorality and inefficiency," if we are to meet the challenge of leadership in this troubled world, if we are to maintain America as a bastion of liberty, if we are to bestow the blessings of freedom on those millions who are languishing in bondage, a revitalized, vibrant and enlarged Republican Party must take the helm and press staunchly forward to new frontiers of achievement. On this historic mission we shall be propelled by the mighty spirit of an enfranchised people and inspired by the simple greatness of Abraham Lincoln.

We, the Republican Party, have the will; we have the vigor; we have the talent to match with consummate leadership the towering challenge of our time. We await only the mandate of our fellow-citizens. And when that Nation-wide mandate comes, as come soon it must, let us be ready, full-girt and resolute, to pilot America, her people, and her beloved institutions, safely across today's darkling waters to the longed-for haven of a peaceful, prosperous, and confident tomorrow.

Logan, Hub

CHICAGO SUN-TIMES, SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 13, 1949 14

Tribute to Lincoln led by Stevenson

By Hub Logan
SUN-TIMES Springfield Bureau

Springfield--Gov. Stevenson led veterans' groups and a national organization of Lincoln scholars in observance of Abraham Lincoln's 140th birthday anniversary in the shrine city of the emancipator.

Vice President Alben W. Barkley and Sen. Scott W. Lucas (D-Ill.) flew from Washington late Saturday to join in the tributes to Lincoln.

S. Perry Brown of Beaumont, Texas, national commander of the American Legion; Mrs. Hubert Goode of Portland, Oregon, national president of the American Legion Auxiliary, and Lyall T. Beggs of Madison, Wis., national commander-in-chief of the Veterans of Foreign Wars, spoke at Lincoln's tomb in Springfield in separate services.

'Only applause'

Gov. Stevenson, in a nationwide radio broadcast, lauded Lincoln as "a good man and a brave man; he was gentle, friendly and loved the people.

"He took with him to the grave human slavery. He left behind him a nation indestructably united for the first time, and a world which had, because of him, a wider concept of freedom and human rights.

"No president, and probably few figures in history, have been so mistreated, reviled and hated.

"But the abuse and ridicule is long since stilled. Today there is only applause. Today we stand by his side, our heads bowed in reverent homage to this man who loved the people--the fickle people, quick to condemn, who did not always make his path easier...

"In death he became an immortal leader of the people because in life he believed in the people."

Services by VFW

Lincoln Day ceremonies in Springfield started when the American Legion placed wreaths on the slain President's tomb. Services by the Veterans of Foreign Wars followed.

The VFW tributes to Lincoln continued at 2 p.m. with Stevenson in attendance.

Later in the afternoon the governor attended the annual meeting of the Abraham Lincoln Association, a national organization of Lincoln scholars.

During the day he participated in a Boy Scout program in the State Capitol.

Vice President Barkley and Sen. Lucas spoke at night at a meeting sponsored by the Mid-Day luncheon club of Springfield.

Among other groups that held special Lincoln Day programs in Springfield was the Young Republicans of Illinois. Former Congressman Everett M. Dirksen of Pekin spoke at their dinner.

Long, Alice M.

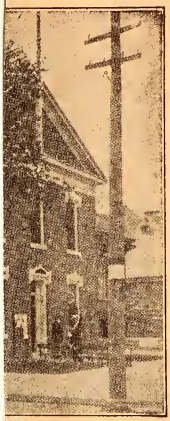
The Why of Lincoln's Greatness

By Alice M. Long

Abraham Lincoln was a big man physically, mentally, and morally. The great things which he did in a simple, thorough manner, and the little things in his tremendously big, whole-souled, tender-hearted way, have made some of the most interesting history ever recorded.

Whatever may be said of the ungainliness of Lincoln, of his social life in a rural environment, the fact remains that his quick wit and keen, analytical perception are in keeping only with ease and grace of manner. Limited as were his opportunities for attendance at school, the ability to express himself in clear, simple language makes it certain that his was a mind of more than ordinary resources.

Patience is the mother of self-mastery, gentleness, a parent of true greatness. Lincoln possessed these qualities in high degree. His sense of humor not only won for him many friends, but served to turn aside and render harmless the scorn and seemingly sound logic of his opponents in law and politics. To assume the blame that does not rightfully belong to one to praise one's enemy, to forgive under all circumstances, and to refrain always from subterfuge in personal and public matters, none less than the big, broad spirit of a Lincoln could do.



ase was tried.

Summing it up, it is not so much the things we do as how we do them—the thought, the self that we put into them, that make them living forces. A naturally painstaking regard for the smallest duties strengthened in Lincoln the purpose and keen insight necessary to the just and far-reaching solution of the national problems which later confronted him.

It is the one great achievement of their lives, for the most part, that has immortalized men of history. It is through the commonplace kindnesses of man to man—the little courtesies of daily life—that Abraham Lincoln has become endeared to the civilized world, and proud is the community that can say, "Lincoln left with us the benediction of his thought, his words, his deeds."

S.S. Advocate 2-5-16

Long, J. K.

PULSE OF THE PEOPLE.

The Real Abraham Lincoln.

Editor The Record: Lincoln day being near at hand, it seems appropriate to suggest that the orators give us a laudation of Abraham Lincoln and an analysis of his character warranted by the facts of history, such as he himself would have desired, and not the usual indiscriminate eulogy based largely on ideals and fiction.

Abraham Lincoln was a notable man at all periods of his adult life in whatever vocation he may for the time being have been engaged.

He was a great man, but his fame properly rests upon his official acts rather than on his personal ones. The most common mistake is to hail him as the great emancipator—the striker of the shackles from four million slaves as an act of pure philanthropy.

That is based upon a misconception of the issues of the momentous time when he was called upon to be chief of the nation, and gives to those who are not familiar with the events which led up to the war of 1861 a false idea of what it was for, and the attitude of Lincoln and the Republican party to the South and slavery.

The ostensible cause of the war was the right of secession claimed by the South, but the real underlying cause was the slavery question and the loss of southern political supremacy. The Republican party was not organized to free the slave, but to resist the extension of slavery into the new territories of the West.

The original Union of the states under the constitution was a compromise; only three states unanimously ratified it, in the others of the original thirteen there was great opposition and the ratifying majorities were narrow; under it, until 1808, importation of slaves was legal. Some of the New England states in the earlier years of the Union threatened to secede because of the embargo acts. The bond which held the states was in danger of breaking many times, and the compromises to keep the Union intact were irritating.

Lincoln, in his celebrated "House-divided-against-itself" speech in 1858, though it offended his friends and caused a tremendous sensation, demonstrated his moral courage by saying agitation over slavery would not cease until a crisis should have been reached and passed; that the government could not endure permanently half free and half slave; that he did not expect the Union to be dissolved, nor the House to fall, but it would cease to be divided; either slavery would cease in all the states or it would be lawful in all of them.

The war which proved the salvation of the Union was inevitable, yet when the crisis did come and the house did begin to totter and Lincoln was called to be the executive of the nation, he deemed the preservation of the Union to be his paramount duty, though slavery should be continued, and so did the Republican party.

Lincoln was willing and the Republican party was ready to concede at the outset, in order that the Union might be preserved, that slavery should continue to be maintained in the slave-holding states. It was the fall of Sumter that sounded the doom of slavery. In his inaugural address of March 4, 1861, Lincoln asserted he had no intention of interfering with slavery as it existed or interfering in any way with the rights of the South, and urged that by law fugitive slaves must be returned to their owners.

He repudiated Fremont's order of August 31, 1861, proclaiming martial law in Missouri and setting free the slaves of rebels, and he promptly rescinded General Hunter's order of May, 1862, declaring the slaves in Georgia, Florida and South Carolina free. He had in many ways resisted the importunities of the extreme war party to issue a proclamation of emancipation, and he, in his letter of August 22, 1862, to Horace Greely, said: "My paramount object is to save the Union and not to either save or destroy slavery. If I could save the Union without freeing any slave I would do it; if I could save it by freeing all the slaves I would do it, and if I could do it by freeing some and leaving others alone I would do that. . . . I have stated my purpose according to my views of official duty, and I intend no modification of my oft expressed personal wish that all men everywhere could be free."

Those who will take the trouble to read the emancipation proclamation will find that it did not abolish slavery in the non-seceding slave holding states and that such was not its intention. It was a war measure of stern military necessity, long contemplated and long withheld. It was not until December, 1865, that the constitutional amendment abolishing slavery everywhere within the United States went into effect.

Another common mistake, and a dangerous one in the imperialistic tendency of the times, is the assumption, which many of Lincoln's eulogists indulge in, that he, and he alone, formulated the policy of the government and alone bore the tremendous weight of responsibility for the conduct of the war and was the only prominent one borne down in sorrow at the almost steady course of defeat and drawn battles we were humiliated with until the persistent and self-reliant Grant began "to push things" in earnest.

There were others; many others of national repute and renown. The recognition of these facts of history can not in the least detract from the just fame of Lincoln. Some who, like myself, were young boys when Lincoln first began to attract national attention by his debates with Douglas on the Free Soil question, and imbibed our political principles from his utterances and were, and are, his admirers, prefer the real man himself should be eulogized in the light of the very events that surrounded him, rather than in the dazzling gleams of poetic ideality.

Abraham Lincoln was indeed a great man; his memory is justly to be revered, his high character is to be emulated, but for the sake of truth and appreciative criticism of the real man, whose life will bear every fair-minded investigation, it is to be hoped that the orators of the coming anniversary will tell us the fact and not the fiction; and this not so much for our own edification as for the instruction of the Slavic and Latin races who are swarming here and whom we must assimilate into American citizens.

J. K. LONG.

Troy, Feb. 3, 1909.

GOVERNOR LONG'S TRIBUTE

A view of Lincoln as a social-political conservative, as "a conservative reformer and a reforming conservative" was presented by ex-Governor Long in his oration with a distinctness not common in other tributes. Indeed, Mr. Long dwelt upon Lincoln's disinclination to bestow suffrage on illiterate millions with an emphasis from which many biographers and most Republican public men shrink. Had Lincoln lived to develop his policy, Mr. Long believes that the colored citizen "would have been saved the humiliation of his early ejectment from precipitant political occupation, and would sooner have secured, as he is now securing, that call to political service which comes and will hereafter more and more come to whatever man stands out with evident fitness for it."

Here is a note of challenge which may be taken up and provoke controversy. Yet this challenge is not lightly given, nor will a denial of its correctness be easily sustained. Discussion today, however, should it come, will be more temperate than was possible during Lincoln's lifetime. The American public is dubious as to the expediency of allowing the illiterate to hold the suffrage, and decidedly antagonistic to the extension of illiterate suffrage. There is no Wendell Phillips to renew the accusation he levelled against Lincoln as "the slave hound of Illinois." Criticism of Lincoln on this score seems to have wholly passed. His conservatism is now seen to have been the most far-sighted wisdom.

Long, John D.

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THE TASK AND THE MAN

Ex-Governor John D. Long Pays Eloquent Tribute to Lincoln, Dwelling Upon His Preparation for the Great Task Which He Accomplished, and His Undying Fame

John Kennedy 2-13-09

Mr. Long said, in part:

We are here to commemorate the one hundredth birthday of Abraham Lincoln, a great and good man in the simple, fundamental sense of the words. We pause to recall that supreme life, that magnanimous soul full of charity and without malice. His rugged face, his lank, homely figure rise before us transfigured to a beauty as much beyond that of the statued Apollo in yonder niche as the beating heart transcends the lifeless marble.

It is an unfounded notion that the conditions of our frontier life—alas we no longer have any frontier—are to be counted unfavorable. On the contrary they have been from the days when Massachusetts was herself a frontier the best soil for characteristic American ambition and growth. It is not because the same or like qualities of character do not still inhere in human nature that America, nay the world, will never again see the like of Lincoln, but because the circumstances of his early and later life can never be reproduced. America, alas, has already grown old, old with power, with wealth, with the exhausting ravage and absorption of her territory, and with the infusions of what we used to call the Old World.

Since our national independence began there have been three great eras—first, the adoption of the Constitution under Madison and Hamilton; second, its construction by interpretation under Marshall and Webster, which gave the Federal union a larger range of sovereignty than its strict letter; and third, the exercise of that sovereignty, resulting in the entirety of the republic, the abolition of slavery and the equality of citizenship under Abraham Lincoln. Of this last era Lincoln was a typical spokesman and representative more than any other man. Other men may have at times more brilliantly illuminated the path, He, by force of circumstances and his own force, was the path itself. Seward stated, but Lincoln both stated and cut the Gordian knot of the irrepressible conflict.

It was not a matter of chance that Lincoln was the champion of freedom. That he was so proves the steady preparation and the commanding talents which fitted him for the place. By the Illinois Legislature of 1855 he had come very near being chosen United States senator; and at the Republican National Convention in 1856 he received 110 votes as candidate for the vice presidency on the part of the Republican party, of which, meantime, he had become one of the founders, and of which he was thenceforth in the Northwest the undoubted leader.

THE FORMATIVE PERIOD

It is a time in Lincoln's life to be dwelt upon, because then was the formative process of public sentiment of which his Administration later was the expression. Ah, those old anti-slavery days which, so swift is time, not many of you here recall! Not even the lustre of the Revolutionary period bursting into national independence shone with such beauty of holiness, such moral effulgence, such ardor for the enfranchisement, not of a nation conscious only of general mild subjection to laws in the making of which it did not have direct representation, but of a proletariat of poor, despised, enslaved, but fellow-human beings. It is this which makes the anti-slavery crusade the era of our New England chivalry. Then its true knight couched his lance and its minstrel sang. It brought not peace but a sword. It nerved the iron will of Garrison, who would not equivocate and who would be heard. It rang from the lips of Phillips, that Puritan Apollo, more beautiful than the son of Latona and higher bred, whose tongue was his lute and whose swift shaft was winged with the immortal fire of liberty. It pointed the rhyme of Lowell and transformed a Boston Brahmin into a Down East Bird of Freedom. It made Whittier the expression in verse of New England's intense and passionate impulse for freedom and for breaking all chains that bind the limb or mind of any brother man—an unnlumed knight in Quaker garb. It throbbed with magnetic fervor in the heart of Andrew. It inspired the pen of Mrs. Stowe; electrified by her genius, the great popular heart thrilled with veneration and sympathy for the meek and lowly Christian in bondage, Uncle Tom. Its heroisms fired the student, and Harvard and her sisters were again the mothers of heroes. Its passion culminated in the immortal hymn of Mrs. Howe and cried aloud:

"Mine eyes have seen the glory of the coming of the Lord."

But why name these and not also the dwellers in unnumbered homes of plain living and high thinking all over the land, under the shadow of Plymouth Rock, and along the sea and among the farms, as well as in the abodes of culture and wealth, peers of the exaltation of their leaders, kindled with equal enthusiasm for human rights, fired with the reformer's zeal, and later giving themselves and their sons a sacrifice upon the altar of their faith on the field of battle and of blood. As Christ died to make men holy, so they died to make men free.

THE BURST OF THE THUNDERCLOUD

It was, indeed, the era of the tumultuous upheaval of the moral sense. It was the burst of the thundercloud, and its lightnings fell and its rains descended and its floods poured, and the house built upon the sand of inhumanity fell, and great was the fall thereof. Of course, there were extravagances and extremists. Bitterness and passion and sectional inflammations raged, but above them, as we look back, like Neptune rising above the tumult of the waves, the figure of Lincoln dominates the scene. His voice is calm, but reaches all abroad. It gathers the bolts of the storm into his hand. He gives utterance to the great underlying public sentiment of the time. He becomes the embodiment of the common sense. Others may have more passionately stirred and inflamed the popular heart. He stirred but also guided it. Patiently, but surely, he led the way, and at the last his was the hand that struck the fetters from the slave.

Mr. Long then gave a sketch of Lincoln's career, his law practice and his effective work on the stump, leading to his election. Then, after reviewing the events of the war, he continued:

In that terrible struggle which involved the outrooting of human slavery, Lincoln never forgot that neither side was innocent of its existence among us, or that the people of the South believed in their cause and in their construction of their rights under the Federal Constitution. To him they were the erring, not the malevolent, brother; and the moment they laid down their arms their sins were forgiven them. In the Cooper Institute speech, in the two nobly generous inaugurals and, indeed, always, what charity, what reaching out of the welcoming hand, what appeal to every sentiment of brotherhood, what pleading for righteousness and peace and good will! Today the South knows and feels all this. The mists and passions of half a century ago have faded away, and the memory of Lincoln shines like a star in the serene heaven of our Union in which it is our brightest link.

And shall not we of this new century rise as a nation to the ideal of that lofty time of which he became the incarnation—the ideal of a republic not lost in material interests, great and important as they are; not blinded with the glare of prosperity, wide and comforting as it is; not bent on becoming a defiant world power, vital as are the responsibilities that come with it; but devoted to righteousness as a people, to the eradication of every root of misery and wretchedness and injustice in our soil, and to the elevation of the humblest and poorest and weakest? Our apotheosis of Lincoln, even if exaggerated, should lift us out of the murk and stress and tumult of our time and bring the jarring element of our social and industrial life to a better understanding.

THE PROBLEM OF RECONSTRUCTION

Had he lived, who does not feel that the reunion of the national heart would have far more speedily followed the reunion of political bands! Reconstruction was a most difficult problem and the utmost respect is to be had for the convictions of the great and patriotic men who differed as to its solution. But I cannot doubt that the ultimate verdict of disinterested consideration, free from the intense feeling of his time, will be with Lincoln. To him it was a practical, not a theoretical or sentimental, question. He did not regard it as worth while to determine nicely whether by their rebellion the Confederate States had lost their statehood in the Union or had remained in it. If the former, it is difficult to see why they had not accomplished all that they attempted. We fought to keep them in, and, if the victory was ours as it was, they were logically and in fact still States in the Union, though their relations with the national Government were of course so disturbed and chaotic that legislation was necessary to readjust those relations and to safeguard all the interests involved. Such was undoubtedly Lincoln's view, but he was looking to conditions, not to theories. Had Lincoln lived, with his hold on popular sentiment, with the prestige of his triumph over disunion, with his sagacity and persuasiveness, with his knowledge of the South, and its responding appreciation of his charity towards it, it is not too much to believe that he would have made his policy the country's policy of reconstruction. It can hardly be doubted that the same patient tact, the same hold on the popular sentiment, the same persuasive appeal, the same winning sympathy with the plain people which had won the debate with Douglas, which through the war had gathered to Lincoln's support the constantly rising volume of the nation's faith and confidence, would have given him the guidance in the reconstruction of the Union.

You all know the story of Lincoln's death, that tragedy of the war. The rebellion was crushed, the war over, the slave free. The great prophet and magistrate had fought the good fight and kept the faith. The pistol bullet of a drunken, mad assassin cut the thread of life and Abraham Lincoln was dead, a martyr on the altar of his country.

THE RULER AND THE MAN

As we read history—thank God it is true rather of the past than the present—what vice, what filth, what insolence, what grinding of the poor, what indifference to human suffering, what contempt of human rights, what rot and shame and meanness have been the personal characteristics, though sometimes associated with great qualities and achievements, of many of the rulers of the world. What wonder that revolution has so often come in riot and rivers of blood! What a relief to turn to this chosen of the people without stain or spot, this pure in heart and blessed of the Lord! I love to picture in my mind's eye not more the ruler than the man. I fancy him at the consummation of his glory, simple and unaffected still, the crown of honor lifted to his head not only by his country, but by the world. I fancy him standing beneath the stars on the heights

of the Soldiers' Home, gazing over the roofs of Washington and across the historic Potomac, alone and lonely, dreaming not of his fame and prestige, but of the early pioneer days, the meagre honest home, the mother's devotion, the early struggles, the first revelations of the printed page, the first thrills of ambition for larger life, the growing consciousness and exercise of natural powers, the free, unconventional life of the prairie, the steady elevation to higher service, the people's tournament of debate, the long four years of chief magistracy of the nation, years tumultuous with war and intricate with statecraft, a nation in convulsion, an earthquake of rending forces, a fire sweeping the land, but after and above all the still small voice of an approving conscience at peace with God.

Not his that saddest of all historic destinies—the fate of that mighty dynamo that once shook the world but at last stood an inert lump on a lone rock in mid ocean,—"coelum undique, et undique pontus"—his glories and principalities and powers now only dust in his hands, and his heart broken.

THE GREAT AMERICAN OF HIS AGE

And how truly it may be said of Lincoln, he still lives. He lives in bronze and marble and canvas; he lives in the memory of a grateful country. His sympathy with the plain people, felt by him and by them, yet indescribable in words, has given him a place in their hearts closer than that of any other public man. He will stand with Washington foremost among our great ones. We lack discrimination when we say of this or that man that he was the greatest. But this may be said of Lincoln, that of all Americans, if not of all men of the 19th century, he achieved the most enduring, the greatest and purest fame. With neither the culture of Sumner, nor the might of Webster, yet either of them in Lincoln's place you instinctively feel would have fallen below him in the discharge of his trust. No doubt his growth upward was largely due to his presidential culture and pruning, and that he was a greater man at its close than at its beginning. And when we speak of him as great we mean great in the general impressive sense. There is a greatness of pure intellect, of pure force, independent of circumstances, like some tall memorial shaft springing from the earth to the sky. There is another greatness that is like some mountain-side rich with foliage and verdure, towering above the plain and yet a part of it. Lincoln, no doubt, in marvellous variety of talent comes short of Franklin, in quick fertility of genius of Hamilton, in philosophic vision of Jefferson. But in impressiveness on his time and in his stamp on history and public sentiment Lincoln leads. He is the great American of his age,

"New birth of our new soil, the first American."

There is an element in this kind of popular greatness without which the title of great is never at last conferred. It is the moral element of sincerity and truth. There have been men who rendered inestimable services to their country, whose words were patriotic fire, whose shoulders upheld the republic, and yet there goes with their names the unspoken consciousness of a lack of entire faith in them. It is the singular glory of Lincoln that with all his ambition we feel he was true to the profoundest moral instincts. God be praised that amid all doubt and in spite of so many crumbling idols there be now and then, aye, often, a soul that mounts and keeps its place! Honor to your memory, homely rail-splitter president, that no act or motive of yours has ever been counted in derogation of the integrity of your life or example. Good and faithful servant, stand forever forth in the people's hall of fame, crowned with their undying love and praise—sainted—immortal!

LONG EULOGIZES LINCOLN

His Aims Those of the Highest Patriotism

Eloquent Tribute Paid by the Ex-Governor

City of Boston Holds Its Formal Exercises

Mrs. Julia Ward Howe Contributes Memorial Poem

Boston Transcript 2-13-09

When Mrs. Julia Ward Howe came to the front of the platform at Symphony Hall last night, dressed entirely in white, to read her memorial poem on Abraham Lincoln, more than three thousand people were on their feet, applauding the author of "The Battle Hymn of the Republic." The occasion was the city's observance of the Lincoln centenary, and while Mrs. Howe was the centre of attention, an oration by ex-Governor John D. Long, a short address by Boston's first citizen, Major Henry L. Higginson, music by the Symphony Orchestra and a special chorus of two hundred voices, the reading of the Gettysburg address and through all the exercises a spirit of patriotic fervor, made the occasion memorable in many ways.

Rarely has such an audience assembled in Boston. The doors of the hall were opened at 7.30 o'clock, and ten minutes later the building was packed to the doors, with thousands waiting outside, vainly striving for admittance. Men and women of every rank and station were there, all to pay homage to the memory of the martyr president. Had there been room for ten thousand people the hall probably would have been filled. Every available inch of standing room was taken, and four or five women fainted in the crush.

Bernard J. Rothwell, chairman of the committee in charge of the celebration, called the great gathering to order and introduced Bishop William Lawrence, who pronounced the invocation. On the stage were the committee, with State, Federal and city officials, many of whom were received with bursts of applause. After the invocation Mr. Rothwell turned over the meeting to the permanent chairman, Major Henry L. Higginson. As the "first citizen" came forward, gravely bowing to the applause, and fitted a pair of wide-rimmed spectacles, there was a hush of expectancy and the vast audience hung upon his words. He was not oratorical in his manner, but spoke earnestly and clearly. Thanking the audience for the honor, he told of Lincoln's enlistment of rebel prisoners in the closing days of the war, and pointed a moral from Lincoln's life.

"We are apt to think," he said, "that even a good politician must be versed in tricks, in the art of managing men, and that he often exercises his talent for selfish gains, whether it be high place or power. The thought and the doubt about it may well be true, and yet the result to the nation may be good.

"Lincoln was the greatest politician of our times, but he became so filled with the size and importance of the task lying before all public men and before the people of that day, that he was forced, through his own high nature, to grapple with this task in a noble spirit, and to use his arts of the politician for the good of his country. To the end of his life, he used his knowledge of politics and of men to carry out his great purposes."

There was a pause after the applause which followed, and then the whole assemblage rose as Mrs. Howe, escorted by Colonel J. Payson Bradley, came forward. She carried her ninety years remarkably well. The familiar dainty lace was over her head, and a jewelled cross hung upon her breast. She took a seat at Major Higginson's right, and he introduced her: "Ladies and gentlemen, there is nothing to be said about Mrs. Howe. There is only one Mrs. Howe, and if she's able to come here and is willing to come here and recite her poem, we can only be grateful."

Again the audience was on its feet while Colonel Bradley helped Mrs. Howe to the reading desk. She began the reading of her poem in what seemed a stillness, but as she went on with her reading the hush grew, until her voice was the only sound that broke the silence. Her poem reads:

Through the dim pageant of the years
A wondrous tracery appears;
A cabin of the western wild
Shelters in sleep a new-born child.

Nor nurse, nor parent dear can know
The way those infant feet must go;
And yet a nation's help and hope
Are sealed within that horoscope.

Beyond is toil for daily bread,
And thought, to noble issues led,
And courage, arming for the morn
For whose behest this man was born.

A man of homely, rustic ways,
Yet he achieves the forum's praise,
And soon earth's highest meed has won,
The seat and sway of Washington.

No throne of honors and delights;
Distrustful days and sleepless nights,
To struggle, suffer and aspire,
Like Israel, led by cloud and fire.

A treacherous shot, a soh of rest,
A martyr's palm upon his breast.
A welcome from the glorious seat
Where blameless souls of heroes meet;

And, thrilling through unmeasured days,
A song of gratitude and praise;
A cry that all the earth shall heed,
To God, who gave him for our need.

Colonel Bradley helped Mrs. Howe back to her seat, restored her cane, which she had discarded as she came forward, and she remained until ex-Governor Long was introduced, when she departed.

Colonel Bradley, who was secretary of the committee, read the first proclamation of Governor Draper, relative to the celebration of the Lincoln centennial. Mayor Hibbard spoke briefly of Lincoln's example in its bearing upon municipal government, and thanked all who had assisted in the celebration. Then B. J. Lang conducted the Symphony Orchestra, while Clarence B. Shirley sang a part of the Mendelssohn "Hymn of Praise." As he finished the recitative "Watchman, Will the Night Soon Pass?" Mrs. Grace Bonner Williams took up the answer as a solo, and then the great chorus of two hundred voices sang "The Night Is Departing," with inspiring effect.

Major Higginson said the day would not be complete without the Gettysburg address, and said that it would be read by Major John E. Gilman of the Twelfth Massachusetts. "As you see," he said, "he is not all here, but there is sufficient of him for the purpose," and, as Mr. Gilman came forward with an empty sleeve, he added: "I owe it to you and to Mr. Gilman to explain that the part of him which is not here tonight was left at Gettysburg."

The Hallelujah chorus was sung while the audience stood, and then ex-Governor John D. Long was introduced as the orator of the occasion.

The benediction was pronounced by Bishop Mallalieu, and the celebration closed by the singing of "America" by the chorus and the entire audience. Colonel Bradley and Jeremiah Phillips, a colored G. A. R. man of Post 134, brought the state and national colors to the front while the hymn was being sung.

of the Soldiers' Home

Lothian, Lord
(Kerr, Philip)

The Coming of Lothian.

New York Times: Lord Lothian, sometimes Philip Kerr, presented to President Roosevelt his credentials as ambassador from Britain's crown—"and type of all her race." He long since presented his credentials as a friend to the United States, with whose topography of mountain and plain he is familiar from coast to coast and with whose people he is acquainted in all walks of life and labor. No Briton could have more cordial reception, coming at this moment. He was at the heart of things in the period of the World War as secretary to Lloyd George, and he has widened his horizons to include all that is human. His "Round Table" came to be the round earth. He has been for years secretary of the Rhodes Trust, thus being in touch with young men of greatest promise in the English-speaking world. But he has also established a workingmen's college on one of the estates to which he had fallen heir. And for all his titles and estates, he is still Philip Kerr, the Liberal who is invited by a Conservative government to represent Britain's far-flung democracy in a land where as always "cities and states in their infinite variety remain laboratories of democratic activity." A brilliant writer and speaker whose political saint is Abraham Lincoln, he will be cordially received by the America which accepts with confident hopes his new credentials.

Louisville Newspaper

"Stepping stones . . . to higher things"

KENTUCKIANS in their time of need or catastrophe can find no more inspiring figure than that of the greatest Kentuckian, whose birthday we celebrate today.

Towering above the strife and disaster of a fearful civil war, the tall, gaunt, homely figure of Lincoln stood like a Colossus of strength—his high courage, cool confidence and understanding heart guiding the Nation through its period of greatest trial. When others despaired and complained he looked steadily, confidently forward to victory and to a greater nation, united in heart and soul.

The people of Louisville, like true Kentuckians, have met their city's greatest disaster with cool heads and stout hearts. As we face the future and tackle the job of building a greater Louisville we may well be guided and inspired by those noble lines of Tennyson which were a great favorite with Abraham Lincoln:

"I hold it truth, with him who sings
To one clear harp in divers tones,
That men may rise on stepping stones
Of their dead selves to higher things"

of the Soldiers' Home and

LOVE, GILBERT

The Lincoln Case

By Gilbert Love

Thomas and Nancy Lincoln were living on a rocky and unfruitful farm in Kentucky when their son, Abraham, was born. They were very poor.

Mother and baby had fairly good care, however. When her time came, Mrs. Lincoln went to the hospital in the nearest town, where she was given a bed in a ward. After she returned home, the visiting nurse called occasionally.

The family struggled along until one day a flash flood roared down the valley and swept most of Thomas Lincoln's crops right off the fields. Desperate times followed. Finally, to keep his family from starving, Thomas Lincoln applied for relief.

When Abraham was eight years old the family pulled up stakes and moved to the Pigeon Creek region of Southern Indiana. The soil was better there, but it was covered with forest. Young Abe was handed an ax and told to help the others clear the land. Thomas Lincoln built a three-sided cabin to house his family that winter.

Faced Arrest for Cruelty

He reckoned without the social agencies, however. They made him stop working young Abraham, and they moved the chilly family into plain but comfortable quarters in town. There was some talk of arresting Thomas for cruelty to his family.

Thomas did get into trouble with the authorities the following year. Township school officials insisted that young Abraham be sent to classes in the consolidated school. Lying in front of an open fire and figuring with a piece of charcoal was no way to get an education, they said.

Through hard work, the help of the county agent and several kinds of farm relief, Thomas Lincoln gradually developed a farm that would support his family after a fashion. Then they migrated to Illinois.

Not long after they got there, Abe left home and got a job clerking in a general store in New Salem. He was then 22.

The store folded. Abe collected unemployment compensation for a while. Then he became a partner in another store, which also folded.

Got Job With Big Corporation

He went to the State Legislature. He got himself appointed Postmaster of New Salem. Neither job paid a living wage, so he studied up on surveying and worked at that.

Finally a vocational guidance center convinced him that he should study law. With his G.I. benefits as a veteran of the Black Hawk War he entered law school and was graduated with honors. Which got him a good job with a large corporation.

I hope the little fable above doesn't sound too irreverent. But I got to thinking, while reading about the poverty endured by the Lincoln family, that it could hardly happen today. America is too well organized for the relief of suffering and misfortune.

If Abraham Lincoln had been born in this day and age, instead of 140 years ago today, his story might have been entirely different. He overcame the hardships of frontier life to become President and save the Union. Whether a softening of those hardships would have made him a greater man, or less great, we can only guess.

PITTSBURGH PRESS, FEBRUARY 12, 1949—

Loveland, Roelif

Cleveland Plain Dealer 2/12/36

Abraham Lincoln

1809—1865

"If Lincoln were alive today"
(The lesser politicians shout),
"If Lincoln lived there is no doubt
"But that he'd do the thing our way,
"If Lincoln were alive today."

They have stamped their schemes with your approval, Abraham Lincoln,
Because you are the political summit, because you never made a mistake,
And, as long as one is borrowing indorsement from the grave,
One might as well shoot high and choose the very best.
But you were "wrong" many times to your contemporaries, Abraham Lincoln.
You were "wrong" when you issued the Emancipation Proclamation.
You were "wrong" when you changed generals, seeking victory.
You were "wrong" when you made an issue of the downtrodden.
You were "wrong" when you urged kindness after the war . . . .
You were as "wrong" as one who followed you, Abraham Lincoln,
One who believed that it was not presumptuous for a man to expect
A job, and enough to eat, and a roof over his head.
But presidents must wait to find their proper niche.
History clears many things. Passing years give mortals wings.
And so—
You are the man who never made a mistake, Abraham Lincoln.
You are the man who got his orders direct from the Almighty
While you prayed in darkness in the White House in bare feet.
To you, all was made crystal clear from the beginning.
You spent a number of very pleasant years in Washington,
With everything coming your way, and a halo around your head.

* * *

Which is why they give your indorsement to their various schemes
As if they would gain merit by association with your name.
The hard money man says: "Lincoln would have approved this."
The inflationist says: "Lincoln would have advised such action."
The veteran says: "Lincoln was a firm believer in pensions."
Crackpot schemers say: "Lincoln would have seen the light."
And yet, if you were alive today, Abraham Lincoln, great president,
I wonder which of the many schemes would have your blessing?
And I have a suspicion that some of the boys would be surprised
If you should say to them: "Each age has its own problems
"And must develop its own leaders. I am frank to say
"That I don't know the answer. There weren't so many unemployed
"When I was president of this nation. We didn't have much money,
"But there were always things a man could do on the farm.
"Machines had not thrown thousands out of work.
"You'll have to excuse me, gentlemen—I don't know the answer
"Specifically. But I did find, speaking in generalities,
"The easy thing is almost certain to be wrong, and those who act
"With personal or sectional gain in mind, lose in the end.
"I'm a little too old fashioned to try to tell you what to do,
"But I know a good story if you can spare the time to hear it."

"If Lincoln were alive today"
(The lesser politicians shout),
"If Lincoln lived there is no doubt
"But that he'd do the thing our way,
"If Lincoln were alive today."

ROELIF LOVELAND.

Lowden, Frank O.

Lincoln—the Ideal American

His Teachings Influence the Entire World

Written for The Sample Case

By FRANK O. LOWDEN

EDITOR'S NOTE: When I decided to make this issue a Lincoln Edition to celebrate February as the month that gave to us both Washington and Lincoln, I asked Governor Frank O. Lowden, of Illinois, to give to us the story of Lincoln as the Ideal American, knowing that the Governor so considered him; and when you have read his contribution, I think you will agree that I made no mistake in selecting Governor Lowden as the one to so favor us, for the story is not only a glowing tribute to the memory of the Immortal Lincoln, but it carries a thought that will undoubtedly be new to most of us, showing that the teachings and life example of Lincoln have not only been of vast benefit to us and our country, but that they have been echoed down through the passing years; that they were the basis of the issue involved in the late world war; that they will be the foundation of the future policy of every government on earth, and the guiding spirit in our future intercourse as we meet man to man.

IN THAYER'S "Life of John Hay" appears this statement: "His (Hay's) position as private secretary not only gave him a knowledge from the inside, of military and political plans and an acquaintance with thousands of persons whose collective motives and deeds were woven into the fabric of the drama, but it enabled him to observe, at the closest range, the working of the mind and the movement of the heart and character of the ruler who has had no peer in the Anglo-Saxon world."

These words from a sedate and temperate historian—perhaps our country's most famous historian—almost staggered me. There was no assertion, no argument to prove that Lincoln was the greatest ruler of the Anglo-Saxon world, but an assumption that by common consent of men he had attained that lofty place.

An English writer, Oliver, in a late book, "The Ordeal of Battle," says of Alexander Hamilton and Abraham Lincoln that "England has had no such man as either of these since her glorious revolution of 1688."

These men wrote while the world was in the midst of its greatest war. In a way their verdict was prophetic: for studied in the light of the outcome of the last conflict, Lincoln looms bigger and more colossal as a statesman, as a patriot, as a thinker, as a world genius in leadership.

The Lincoln spirit, the Lincoln ideals, have won the world's two most momentous wars—the two wars upon whose issue depended more than upon any other in all history, the happiness and progress of the common man.

The stamp that has made the deepest impress upon the democracy of this world today is the life and character of Abraham Lincoln.

With what clear vision did he understand the civil war! Some saw in it the issue of slavery abolition: others viewed it as a mere attempt to whip the South into submission. Lincoln saw in the triumph of the Union arms the hope of the world, and how wonderfully have the events we have just passed through vindicated his prophecy and his hope.

Lincoln believed in caring for the interests of the world through the strengthening and developing of America. Again and again he expressed his anxiety lest the hopes of the world fail through the ruin of an American union.

While on his way to Washington to his inauguration he made an address to the Senate of New Jersey at Trenton. He referred to the impression made on his youthful mind by the revolutionary events associated with Trenton. In speaking of the soldiers he said:

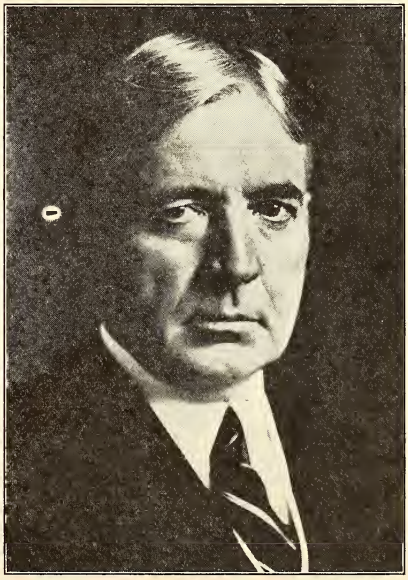
"I recollect thinking then, boy even though I was, that there must have been something more than common that these men struggled for. I am exceedingly anxious that that thing—that something even more than national independence; that something that held out a great promise to all the people of the world to all time to come—I am exceedingly anxious that this Union, the Constitution and the liberties of the people shall be perpetuated in accordance with the original idea for which that struggle was made, and I shall be most happy indeed if I shall be an humble instrument in the hands of the Almighty, and of this, his almost chosen people, for perpetuating the object of that great struggle."

To him America meant a land of opportunity and a land of destiny as well, where a great problem of the world was to be worked out.

The next day at Philadelphia, being Washington's birthday, he spoke in front of Independence Hall and again referred to the "great principal idea that kept this Confederacy so long together." He continued: "It was not the mere matter of the separation of the colonies from the motherland, but that sentiment in the Declaration of Independence which gave liberty not alone to the people of this country, but hope to all the world for all future time. It was that which gave promise that in due time the weights would be lifted from the shoulders of all men and that all should have an equal chance."

The American Union was preserved to save the world. We see it clearly now.

From that day in August, 1914, when autocracy declared war on democracy, Lincoln's spirit began again to wield the master sword of destiny. His spirit walked the earth in sublime grandeur. His life became the greatest resource to the forces fighting for freedom and righteousness throughout the world. When autocracy seemed to win victories it was Lincoln's unshaken faith in the worth of the common man which impelled us to go on at any cost. When some feared that the monstrous doctrine of the mailed autocrat—that might makes right—might again rule the earth, our resolution was renewed by these words of Lincoln: "Let us have faith that right makes might and in that faith let us to the end dare to do our duty"



GOVERNOR FRANK O. LOWDEN, of Illinois.

When our allies felt the need to refresh their courage they turned to Lincoln's words. More and more do the lovers of liberty everywhere make pilgrimage to the tomb of Lincoln. It was an impressive moment when Joffre, who saved civilization at the Battle of the Marne, with reverent hand and tear dimmed eye laid a wreath above his dust. Who shall doubt that the old hero felt at that moment a new resolve to "carry on."

However war weary we became before peace returned, Lincoln always revived our will.

Often the temptress whispered peace to us, as she whispered it to Lincoln, when no peace was possible. It was then that Lincoln came again to our aid and we resolved "that these dead shall not have died in vain, that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom and that government of the people, by the people and for the people shall not perish from the earth."

That Lincoln's heart enfolded the world, that his interest did not lie wholly in the welfare of his own countrymen was indicated in his Gettysburg address. He did not say "shall

not perish from the United States." He said "shall not perish from the earth." He knew as no other man of his time knew—indeed, as no other man understood until long after the first Battle of the Marne, that America, saved at Appomattox, guaranteed universal political and economic salvation.

Lincoln truly served mankind because he loved mankind. Genuine service must always spring from the promptings of the heart and is never a product of the will alone.

And so he couldn't help giving his tenderest thought to the workingman. He cared for him because he cared for all men. All are familiar with his significant saying that the Lord loves plain people because he made so many of them.

With reference to the age-old question of labor and capital he declared "Labor is prior to and independent of capital. Capital is only the fruit of labor and could never have existed if labor had not first existed. Labor is the superior of capital and deserves much the highest consideration." This is but another way of saying that society should chiefly concern itself with the lot in life of the average man. And this is but saying in another form, that Lincoln was a lover of humanity. The Declaration of Independence, to which, again and again, he turned in his thinking, included not only the right to life and liberty, but the right to the pursuit of happiness as well. And it is interesting to note that though Lincoln emphasized the right to liberty—for slavery was the dominant issue at the time—he never referred to the Declaration so far as I can find, without coupling it with the right to liberty, the right to the pursuit of happiness. Life means much; liberty means much; but both fail unless life can be lived and liberty enjoyed under conditions of well-being. Any form of government is but a means to an end, and that end is the happiness of the individual. I am sure that in our almost a century and a half of existence, since that great day of Independence, more men have lived happy lives in our country and under our form of government than in any other in all the history of the world.

But the happiness and well-being of the average man and woman must be steadily advanced if our institutions are to endure. The economists may explain, the statesmen may excuse our failure to accomplish this, but the fact remains that our civilization will fail if the well-being of the men and women and children of America shall not continuously improve.

All his life he hated slavery, but he loved his country more. He accepted battle not to free the slave but to save the Union. With sad heart, but with steadfast courage, he faced the greatest war the world had ever seen to keep the flag of his country—and not of the world—flying in the sky.

There are those who believe they can see somewhere high in the sky a shadowy banner, upon which is written the word "internationalism." To some this faraway flag seems white and to others red. They believe that this flag is to supersede the flags of all the nations of the earth. That time may come, but it will come only when men shall cease to love their own, when they shall care for others' families equally with their own. In the meantime we can serve humanity best by serving our own country first.

Lincoln believed that liberty went hand in hand with law. As he reflected upon the problem of reconstruction during the closing months of his life this thought was emphasized again and again. He wanted the slave made free. He made particular appeal for consideration of the new citizen as a member of a laboring landless and homeless class. But when he spoke to the freed man it was in sympathetic words of caution that he appreciate the new found freedom must be enjoyed under the forms of law. His anxious words of solicitude for them might apply with equal force to world conditions today. In Russia and in Germany, freedom from despotic rule seems to have brought anarchy in its train. No settled government can be secured until liberty is enjoyed under law, and license is restrained by insistent public opinion. This is exactly the position taken by Lincoln in connection with the freed man.

He referred to law as our "political religion" when he said:

"Let reverence for the laws be breathed by every American mother to the lisping babe that prattles on her lap; let it be taught in schools, in seminaries and in colleges, spelling books, and in almanacs; let it be preached from the pulpits, proclaimed in legislative halls and enforced in Courts of Justice, and in short let it become the political religion of the nation and let the old and the young, the rich and the poor, the grave and the gay, of all sexes and tongues and colors and conditions sacrifice unceasingly upon its altars."

The cause of democracy is the cause of humanity. It concerns itself with the welfare of the average man. Lincoln was its finest product. In life, he was its noblest champion. In death, he became its saint. His tomb is now its shrine. His country's cause, for which he lived and died, has now become the cause of all the world. It is more than half a century since his countrymen, with reverent hands, bore him to his grave. And still his pitiless logic for the right, his serene faith in God and man, are the surest weapons with which democracy, humanity and righteousness now fight their ancient foe. His birthday draws near. It will nerve the soldier's arm, it will strengthen the statesman's resolution, it will grip humanity's great heart, if, upon that day, the friends of man everywhere shall pause long enough to recall his life and death, and resolve that Abraham Lincoln, too, shall not have lived and "died in vain."

Sample case feb 1920

THE FIGHTING SPIRIT.

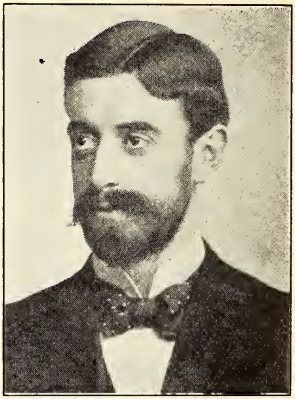
After all is said and done, it's the real fighting spirit, the never give up disposition that carries a man through the trials of life, and if there is a fellow being in the world who has clearly shown that he possesses those qualifications, it is the subject of this sketch.

Percy H. Howard was born in England in 1870, but early longed for life in "the land of the free," so when sixteen years of age he came to this country. His first "job" was that of a clerk in a Boston linen store at a salary of $6 a week. After a year over here, he secured a position as traveling salesman for the Perkins Electric Lamp Co. a position he filled with good success until 1892 when the firm was put out of business by a patent suit brought by the trust.

Mr. Howard then acted as a sales agent for several manufacturers, then finally accepted a position as manager of the New York store of the Apsley Rubber Co. In 1914, his eyesight failed him, and after taking treatments with many specialists, he became totally blind.

Although he had naturally pretty well exhausted his savings in trying to retain his sight, he bore up under the blow and set himself to learn several things by which he could support himself, and he has now invented two very clever puzzles which he is putting on the market.

In the advertising columns, you will find his announcement, and as his puzzles are well worth the small sum he asks for them—both for 25 cents—we hope the readers of Sample Case, espe-



PERCY H. HOWARD.

cially those who are "road men," themselves, will lose no time in ordering a set, and thus help a worthy brother "Knight of the Grip" in the game struggle he is making, and that he is making a game fight you will admit when you read the following quotation from his letter to us:

"During thirty years on the road, it has always been my firm conviction that no matter how dark the road nor how tough the going, you will always find someone on the lookout for your line if you have plugged hard enough; and this thought has been the one thing that has kept me up the past six years and makes me feel assured that I will be able to roll the present black clouds away and find the necessary backing and aid to produce and successfully market the 'Allnations' and 'Twoten' combination."

Now, boys, here is a chance to do a noble deed and to help a worthy fellow being, and let it not be said that we, the most liberal class of fellows in the world, have failed to "respond to the call of the needy and distressed." Read his ad, then order a set of his puzzles. Twenty-five cents means nothing to you, but it means much to him, so let us all come

Lowden, Frank O.

Lowden, Frank O.

TY JOURNAL-POST,

LOWDEN LAUDS LINCOLN'S CREED

Happier Lot for Farmer and Average Man, His Theme at Albuquerque.

ALBUQUERQUE, N. M., Feb. 11.—(Special)—Although it is more than a half century since Abraham Lincoln was borne to his grave, his logic for the right, his serene faith in God and man, are the sword and shield with which democracy and righteousness everywhere oppose their foes. Frank O. Lowden, former governor of Illinois, declared here tonight at the Lincoln Day dinner.

"Lincoln's chief concern was for the common, everyday man," Mr. Lowden said. "Of the agricultural interest, he said, 'it also follows that interest is most worthy of all to be cherished and cultivated—that if there be inevitable conflict between that interest and any other, that other should yield.' Of capital and labor he said 'labor is the superior of capital and deserves much the highest consideration.'

"All this is but another way of saying that society should concern itself chiefly with the lot in life of the average man.

"The Declaration of Independence to which Lincoln turned again and again in his thinking, included not only the right to life and liberty but the right to the pursuit of happiness as well. Life means much; liberty means much, but both fall unless life can be lived and liberty enjoyed under conditions of well being.

Foundation of Science.

"During the eighteenth century the foundations were laid for the scientific age in which we live. For the first time the idea dawned that there might be continual progress. The theory, so far-reaching, so all embracing, has been the chief inspiration of the world's greatest statesmen, but no one so fully and adequately has given expression to this noble aspiration for the happiness of all mankind as Abraham Lincoln.

"The social sciences are beginning to apply the same method which has revolutionized the material sciences and in them is the best hope for the future progress of our civilization. What parts of the structure which we call civilization are functioning least successfully? Are they not the very parts in which the social sciences shape the course?

"We have seen the tremendous advance which has been made by the material sciences in the production of commodities for men. When it comes to the beneficient distribution of these commodities, however, have we been equally successful? The distribution and marketing of the world's goods are carried on by an intricate network of human instrumentalities. Are we in the field making the same progress we have made in production?

Cost of Distribution.

"It is no uncommon thing to be told by the manufacturer that but half the cost which the consumer pays for his product has been incurred when the product leaves the factory. On the average, the farmer receives but a third of the price the consumer pays for the food he produces. Production is constantly being cheapened through the aid of material sciences. The question which arises is, can not the conventions of men be improved to more nearly match the achievements of the material sciences?

"If society were perfectly articulated, why should there ever be an idle man who wished to work? Is it too much to hope that when men shall have perfected their human relationships so as to bring them up to the accomplishments of the material sciences, poverty can be abolished from the world?

"Today it is agreed on every hand that our farm population is in distress. Unprofitable agriculture means rapid soil deterioration. The progress and security of a nation depend largely upon the kind of people who live in the country.

Had Faith in People.

"Lincoln's love of humanity was coupled with a faith in the right of the people to govern themselves. He saw that since the great day of independence, more men had lived happy lives in our country, under our form of government than in any other in all the history of the world.

"He desired, therefore, above all things to maintain the integrity of the government. He hated slavery, but he loved the Union. And in the interest of humanity he resolved to maintain the Union at all costs.

"It was destined that slavery should perish. Lee fought for humanity, but he knew it not. Our Canadian brethren in our own revolutionary war seemed to lose battles to the colonial forces. Those disasters were their gain. England learned a new colonial policy at the surrender of Yorktown and our then Canadian foes became beneficiaries of Washington's heroic deeds. So the noblest sons of the South, now admit that Lincoln was the best friend they ever had.

"Lincoln did preserve the nation and free the slaves and the nation which he saved had grown so powerful in a little more than fifty years that it was able, in the supreme crisis of civilization, to turn the tide of the great world conflict."

Lowden, Frank O.

FROM LOWDEN TO LINCOLN.

Los Angeles Daily Times Feb 3 '22

Following are some notable extracts from ex-Gov. Lowden's Lincoln Day speech last night:

"It is more than a half-century since his countrymen, with reverent hands, bore him to his grave. And still his pitiless logic for the right, his serene faith in God and man were the weapons with which democracy, humanity and righteousness but recently fought and overcame their ancient foe."

"We have known ever since Lincoln's death that he was America's most perfect product, but the world did not learn how much he meant to it until the great war came and civilization was threatened on every front."

"If we shall abandon the ancient landmarks and substitute for private initiative industry a socialistic state, the progress of mankind will be arrested and retrogression will set in."

"He also warns us: 'Let not him who is houseless pull down the house of another, but let him labor diligently and build one for himself, thus by example assuring that his own shall be safe from violence when built.'"

"There are those who believe they can see somewhere high in the sky a shadowy banner, upon which is written the word 'internationalism.' To some this faraway flag seems white — to others it seems red. They believe that this flag is to supersede the flags of all nations. That time may come, but it will come only when the millennium shall dawn. Meantime, we can serve humanity best by serving our own country first."

"Lincoln truly served mankind because he loved mankind. Genuine service must always spring from the promptings of the heart, and is never a product of the will alone."

Lowden, Frank

TRIBUTE IS PAID TO MEMORY OF LINCOLN; LOWDEN IS SPEAKER

2-12-1923
Ill State Register

"The cause of democracy is the cause of humanity. Democracy concerns itself with the welfare of the average man. Lincoln was its finest product. In life he was its noblest champion. In death he became its saint. His tomb is now its shrine. His country's cause for which he lived and died has now become the cause of all the world."

Throng Greets Lowden.

With these words Frank O. Lowden, former governor of Illinois, eulogized the name of Abraham Lincoln before a throng of citizens of the Great American's home town as they gathered in the Chatterton opera house this afternoon to pay him homage upon the celebration of the one hundred and fourteenth anniversary of his birth.

And the large audience which had braved the cold winds and sleet and the dull gray sky to gather for the purpose of paying homage to the Great Emancipator, applauded to the echo the brilliant oration in which Former Governor Lowden declared that Lincoln couldn't help giving his tenderest thought to the working man.

The listeners also greeted with rapt attention, followed by great applause the words of John H. Walker, president of the Illinois Federation of Labor, who declared that Abraham Lincoln, were he living today would be here "standing for the labor movement, joint bargaining, the farmers co-operative societies, cleanliness and honesty in public life—he would be doing this in the interest of humanity."

Scored Injunction.

In the presence of visiting jurists who attended the elaborate ceremonies of the morning in the federal court, at the unveiling of the portrait of the late Judge J. Otis Humphrey, and who occupied seats of honor on the platform at this afternoon's meeting, President Walker scored the practice of "government by injunction."

Referring to Lincoln's speech at Cincinnati in 1859, in which Lincoln said, "The people of these United States are the rightful master of both congress and courts, not to overthrow the constitution but to overthrow those who pervert the constitution," Mr. Walker declared:

"One would almost think that with prophetic vision, while uttering these words, he could see in his mind the men who today are advocating as a substitute for our American institutions, government by injunction, the caprice of selfish designs of the individual imposed on the masses by military force."

Law of Tyrant.

"Wise men have all agreed," he added, "that discretion is the law of the tyrant and when exercised under the color of the law by one holding the position of a judge, doing it in the name of equity and good conscience, it usually becomes a terrible and insufferable despotism.

"The thing that proves perhaps more conclusively than all other things combined, the greatness of Lincoln, is the fact that his is the greatest living human influence in public life in our country today and that in every other country on the face of the earth, wherever history is known, he is a growing influence in public life there as well."

Springfield's distinguished townsman was placed by Mr. Walker in the ranks of those who toil. He was the true ideal of the great host who make up the world's common people, he said.

"He lived for the betterment of oppressed and suffering humanity and gave himself, day by day, and all that was in him, to make the lot of man better. The exploiters and oppressors of humanity abhorred and hated him. They crucified him and, were he here today, carrying into effect the doctrines which he taught during his life, and to which he devoted his every effort, they, of that element, would crucify him again if they were able to. But in the hearts of the common people of our country, he lives just as he did with the great mass of the people of the country at the time of his death.'

Storres Speaks.

Brigadier General Ronald Storres, British governor general of Jerusalem, was another speaker at the mass meeting.

General Storres, who has been visiting America for some time and who came to Springfield to visit the tomb of Lincoln upon the occasion of the celebration of the anniversary of his birth, addressed the gathering briefly and conveyed to them the sentiment of the British nation upon this day.

He also commented upon the esteem with which the name of Abraham Lincoln was held in the Near East.

Prior to the meeting, the Illinois Watch Factory band paraded the downtown district and then gave a musical program at the theater.

Lowden's Address.

Former Governor Frank O. Lowden's address in part follows:

"In the last few years there has been a revival of interest in Lincoln. During those awful months of war when our own people and our allies were becoming war-weary, whenever a mission came to America from foreign lands, either to stimulate our activities or to renew their own courage, that mission made a pilgrimage to Lincoln's tomb. I was in Springfield when the French mission, headed by Marshal Joffre, visited this city. I drove with the old hero who saved civilization in the first battle of the Marne to the cemetery where Lincoln's dust lies. As I looked at the old hero and saw his trembling hands and streaming eyes as he laid his tribute of blossoms upon Lincoln's bier, I thought I could see his courage refreshed and that he in that sacred presence had resolved anew 'they shall not pass.'

"We have known ever since Lincoln's death that he was America's most perfect product, but the world did not learn how much he meant to it until the great war came and civilization was threatened on every front. Then it was that in Paris, or London, or wherever the torch of liberty still burned, though low, wherever it was that men were still hoping, fighting with their backs to the wall—then it was that the whole world turned to the words of Lincoln. Whether it was Lloyd George in the parliament of England, or Clemenceau in France, or wherever it might be, it was Lincoln's words that gave inspiration to all the forces fighting the battles of civilization. Though peace has come, his voice is just as potent now as it was during that fateful time of war.

Served Because He Loved.

"Lincoln truly served mankind because he loved mankind. Genuine service must always spring from the promptings of the heart, and is never a product of the will alone.

"And so he couldn't help giving his tenderest thought to the working man. He cared for him because he cared for all men. Every one is familiar with his significant saying that the Lord loves plain people because He made so many of them.

"With reference to the age-old question of labor and capital, he declared:

"'Labor is prior to and independent of capital. Capital is only the fruit of labor and could never have existed if labor had not first existed. Labor is the superior of capital and deserves much the highest consideration.'

"This is but another way of saying that society should chiefly concern itself with the lot in life of the average man. And this is but saying, in another form, that Lincoln was a lover of humanity. The Declaration of Independence, to which again and again he turned in his thinking, included not only the right to life and liberty, but the right to the pursuit of happiness as well. And it is interesting to note that though Lincoln emphasized the right to liberty—for slavery was the dominant issue at the time—he never referred to the declaration, so far as I can find, without coupling with the right to liberty the right to the pursuit of happiness.

Happiness Must Advance.

"The happiness and well-being of the average man and woman must be steadily advanced if our institutions are to endure. The economists may explain, the statesmen may excuse our failure to accomplish this, but the fact remains that our civilization will fail if the well-being of the men and women and children of America shall not continuously improve.

"This cannot be, however, in my opinion, if we destroy private initiative in industry. For every invention, for every improved process made under the stimulus of private initiative, though the inventor may profit, society profits immeasurably more. A steadily reducing amount of human labor is all the time required to produce the necessities of life. If we shall abandon the ancient landmarks and substitute for private initiative and private industry a communistic state, the progress of mankind will be arrested and retrogression will set in.

Government Improvng.

"How well Lincoln wrought I doubt if even he himself could fully understand. Government the world over has been constantly improving, due to our influence and example. The American Republic has been an inspiration to the lovers of liberty everywhere. It is the last and best hope of the world and he who would imperil its future by excess

of love for other peoples and other lands is recreant not only to his country, but to mankind everywhere. The Republic, during its almost a century and a half of existence, has had a mighty influence throughout the world. Its power has come from its success as a self-governing nation. Our influence has run around the globe because we have contented ourselves with being an exemplar to, rather than a ruler of, mankind.

"The cause of democracy is the cause of humanity. Democracy concerns itself with the welfare of the average man. Lincoln was its finest product. In life he was its noblest champion. In death he became its saint. His tomb is now its shrine. His country's cause for which he lived and died has now become the cause of all the world. It is more than a half century since his countrymen, with reverent hands, bore him to his grave. And still his pitiless logic for the right, his serene faith in God and man, were the weapons with which democracy, humanity and righteousness but recently fought and overcome their ancient foe. Today, my friends, we celebrate his birthday. It will refresh the patriot's hope; it will strengthen the statesman's resolution; it will grip humanity's heart if the friends of man everywhere, on this day, shall pause long enough to recall his life and death and to resolve that Abraham Lincoln too shall not have lived and died in vain."

Abraham Lincoln.

A name that stirs thoughts "too deep for tears," the name of Abraham Lincoln.

The powerful, careworn, melancholy face, honest as the holiest impulses within us impel us ever to be, looks at us, looks at America today, on this his birthday, and the eye—profound as the abysses of grief and of hope—ask, "What is my country, for which I died, doing today?"

When Abraham Lincoln was nominated for the presidency in 1860, the country woke up to him. An army of campaign biographers and newspaper men came to Springfield over night, beseeching him for data as to his early life about which he always had been singularly reticent. Said Mr. Lincoln to a reporter on the Chicago Tribune: "It is a great piece of folly to attempt to make anything out of me or of my early life. It can all be condensed into a single sentence, and that sentence you will find in Gray's Elegy,

"The short and simple annals of the poor."

He went on, "That's my life, and that's all you or anyone else can make out of it."

Abraham Lincoln was born in Hardin county, Ky., in 1809. He was the son of Thomas Lincoln and of Nancy Hanks. The facts of his amazing life are well known—the humble origin—born in a log cabin—the bitter, the terrific, struggle for a livelihood on the part of his parents. In 1816, when Lincoln was only 7 years old, the whole family embarked on a raft on Salt river, and went down the Ohio and settled in the wilderness of Spencer county, Ind. The father built a larger log cabin, and in this rough stanty his mother taught the boy to read and write and cipher. There is a picture in one of our galleries of young Abe Lincoln lying on his belly in front of the fire in the hut, doing his sums with a piece of charcoal on a wooden snowshovel. He had no paper. He had no implements of learning. But, he had himself! We know what he did with that "self." He ascended, as a boy, to his bed in the loft of the log hut by means of pegs driven in the wall. And this man saved the state! This man liberated a race of men. This man delivered the finest oration in any language, says the Westminster Gazette of London, since the days of Demosthenes. This was the famous Gettysburg address.

From effort to effort; from persistent, silent plowing up of the hard, hard fields of life; from the bitter sorrow of an early blighted love that Lincoln never recovered from; from the strenuous pursuit of reading law, Lincoln became a lawyer. One word here as to one of his days of deep despondency will help climbing men. In 1838, as he sat in the dreary, dusty law office, he mused: "Will it pay to live twenty-seven years longer?" He roused himself from that gloom. He shook himself up as does a weary beast, to go to the attack on life! And he won.

He came into politics. Defeat after defeat only served to sharpen his mental attitude of resistance and progression. Man of action; man of light; man of the direct power of speech. Woodrow Wilson says, in his "History of the American People," "Though Abraham Lincoln came late into the view of the nation, he came with toughened fiber, athletic mind and body. He had struggled out of direst poverty to a place among the men who led by processes familiar enough upon that rough frontier, where every man had his own way to make, his maintenance to get, for himself, whether in books or in action; but the genius he had put into the task had wrung out of the old processes a new and greater type of man. He had had the instinct of the student in the midst of affairs and had made himself a master of ideals, and of language as an instrument of mastery. He had devised for himself straight thrusts of speech and a use of words that acted like the application of light—spoke like a swordsman who knows not only his fence, but also the temper of his blade, and the seats of life where the sword can touch."

He was the man of heart!

Said Lowell: "We have had at the head of our affairs a man whom America made, as God made Adam, out of the very earth, unancestried, unprivileged, unknown, to show us how much truth, how much magnanimity, and how much statecraft await the call of Opportunity in simple manhood when it believes in the justice of God and the worth of man."

As Abraham Lincoln drew his last breath, on the early dawn following the assassination, Stanton said amidst the hushed sobbing of strong men in the room, "Now he belongs to the ages!"

Lowell

Lowell

Lincoln's Task.

Mr. Lincoln's perilous task has been to carry a rather shaky craft through the rapids, making fast the unruliest logs as he could snatch opportunity, and the country is to be congratulated that he did not think it his duty to run straight at all hazards, but cautiously to assure himself with his setting pole where the main current was, and keep steadily to that. He is still in wild water, but we have faith that his skill and sureness of she will bring him right at last.—Lowell (1864).

Lowell, James Russell

Abraham Lincoln.

BY JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL.

THESE paragraphs, which sum up with unerring insight the character of Lincoln, were, with the exception of the last two, written by Mr. Lowell in 1864. When they were written, the nation had not yet measured the full greatness of the extraordinary man who ruled it; but Lowell, with that fine perception which belongs to genius, penetrated to the very heart of the truth and saw with perfect clearness what was still hidden from so many of his countrymen. The final paragraphs were added by him after President Lincoln's death, and the whole essay was published as one of the papers in "My Study Windows." No estimate of Lincoln contains within the same compass so accurate a delineation of his character.

SCRAP BOOK MAGAZINE MARCH 1907

ONE of the things particularly admirable in the public utterances of President Lincoln is a certain tone of familiar dignity, which, while it is perhaps the most difficult attainment of mere style, is also no doubtful indication of personal character. There must be something essentially noble in an elective ruler who can descend to the level of confidential ease without losing respect, something very manly in one who can break through the etiquette of his conventional rank and trust himself to the reason and intelligence of those who have elected him.

No higher compliment was ever paid to a nation than the simple confidence, the fireside plainness, with which Mr. Lincoln always addresses himself to the reason of the American people. This was, indeed, a true democrat, who grounded himself on the assumption that a democracy can think. "Come, let us reason about this matter," has been the tone of all his addresses to the people; and accordingly we have never had a chief magistrate who so won to himself the love, and at the same time the judgment, of his countrymen. To us, that simple confidence of his in the right-mindedness of his fellow men is very touching, and its success is as strong an argument as we have ever seen in favor of the theory that men can govern themselves. He never appeals to any vulgar sentiment; he never alludes to the humbleness of his origin. It probably never occurred to him, indeed, that there was anything higher to start from than manhood; and he put himself on a level with those he addressed, not by going down to them, but only by taking it for granted that they had brains and would come up to a common ground of reason.

In an article lately printed, Mr. Bayard Taylor mentions the striking fact that in the foulest dens of the Five Points he found the portrait of Lincoln. The wretched population that made its hive there threw all its votes and more against him, and yet paid this instinctive tribute to the sweet humanity of his nature. Their ignorance sold its vote and took its money, but all that was left of manhood in them recognized its saint and martyr.

Mr. Lincoln is not in the habit of saying, "This is *my* opinion, or *my* theory," but, "This is the conclusion to which, in my judgment, the time has come, and to which, accordingly, the sooner we come the better for us." His policy has been the policy of public opinion based on adequate discussion and on a timely recognition of the influence of passing

events in shaping the features of events to come.

How Abraham Lincoln Said "I."

One secret of Mr. Lincoln's remarkable success in captivating the popular mind is undoubtedly an unconsciousness of self which enables him, though under the necessity of constantly using the capital *I*, to do it without any suggestion of egoism. There is no single vowel which men's mouths can pronounce with such difference of effect. That which one shall hide away, as it were, behind the substance of his discourse, or, if he bring it to the front, shall use merely to give an agreeable accent of individuality to what he says, another shall make an offensive challenge to the self-satisfaction of all his hearers and an unwarranted intrusion upon each man's sense of personal importance, irritating every pore of his vanity, like a dry northeast wind, to a goose-flesh of opposition and hostility. Mr. Lincoln has never studied Quintilian; but he has, in the earnest simplicity and unaffected Americanism of his own character, one art of oratory worth all the rest. He forgets himself so entirely in his object as to give his *I* the sympathetic and persuasive effect of *We* with the great body of his countrymen. Homely, dispassionate, showing all the rough-edged process of his thought as it goes along, yet arriving at his conclusions with an honest kind of every-day logic, he is so eminently our representative man that when he speaks it seems as if the people were listening to their own thinking aloud.

The dignity of his thought owes nothing to any ceremonial garb of words, but to the manly movement that comes of settled purpose and an energy of reason that knows not what rhetoric means. He has always addressed the intelligence of men, never their prejudice, their passion, or their ignorance.

* * * * *

On the day of his death, this simple Western attorney, who according to one party was a vulgar joker, and whom the doctrinaires among his own supporters accused of wanting every element of statesmanship, was the most absolute ruler in Christendom, and this solely by the hold his good-humored sagacity had laid on the hearts and understandings of his countrymen. Nor was this all; for it appeared that he had drawn the great majority, not only of his fellow citizens, but of all mankind also, to his side. So strong and so persuasive is honest manliness without a single quality of romance or unreal sentiment to help it!

A civilian during times of the most captivating military achievement, awkward, with no skill in the lower technicalities of manners, he left behind him a fame beyond that of any conqueror, the memory of a grace higher than that of outward person, and of a gentlemanliness deeper than mere breeding. Never, before that startled April morning, did such multitudes of men shed tears for the death of one they had never seen, as if with him a friendly presence had been taken away from their lives, leaving them colder and darker. Never was funeral panegyric so eloquent as the silent look of sympathy which strangers exchanged when they met on that day. Their common manhood had lost a kinsman.

INCOMPATIBILITY.

By SMITH ELY, Mayor of New York 1877-1878.

THEY had been mates for months, and he was very tired
Of daily magpie tongue and disapproving eyes;
And then, of course, he sees a bright, alluring bird
With glossy plumage floating round the perfumed skies.

Unhappy man, thus doubly doomed, to whom so much
Of both Prometheus and Tantalus is given;
The vulture tears his heart while just beyond his clutch
Hovers the sweet-voiced glad-eyed mocking bird of Heaven.

Lowell, James Russell

Lincoln's Qualities Needed Now

By Albert W. Luce

WHO needs to be told that Shakespeare was the greatest writer of all time, that Angelo has had no equal in his rare combination of gifts, that Rembrandt's fame was painted in fadeless colors, that Mozart's music is deathless? A deaf man might not distinguish between Mozart's melodies and the discordant jazz of today, or a blind man might stand unmoved before a sunset thrown on the canvas of the vesper skies by the fingers of the dying day, but intelligent people at home and abroad know that Lincoln towers above his contemporaries like Pikes Peak above her encircling mountains. This strong, lovable character stands out with majestic fulness against the background of a receding generation. More than a half century has elapsed since his tragic death, and the world is now far enough removed to have a proper perspective, and all now know the elements of greatness in this greatest American.

A little over a century ago the world daily awaited with eager expectancy the latest news of Napoleon. None thought of aught but his battles. Yet in the midst of the battles abroad, children were being born who were of more consequence than Napoleon's battles. Which of the battles of 1809 mattered more than the boys of 1809? A host of heroes were born in that historic year, who have lifted the race higher than all Napoleon's battles. Lincoln, the emancipator; Gladstone, England's greatest premier; Oliver Wendell Holmes and Tennyson, whose poetry has strengthened the world's faith; Darwin, who revolutionized the scientific world; Mendelssohn and Chopin, whose music has enriched the ages.

Lincoln is one of the enigmas of history. He lacked all the advantages so graciously bequeathed to his contemporaries mentioned above. Born as lowly as the Son of God, Lincoln's birthplace was in the sunny southland. Kentucky claims him as her richest gift to the world. His birthplace was bounded on the north by the silent stars, on the south by Mother Earth, on the east by poverty, on the west by ignorance. There was no room for him among those whom the world called great. So, God made his home a rude log cabin, close to the ground that, while his soul might dwell among the stars and hold converse with the elect spirits of all the ages, he might keep close to the common people. Would that Shakespeare might have written of Lincoln, for only he could do full justice to Lincoln's rare qualities of mind and heart. Only a Milton with his master melodies could sing the harmonies of his character. Nature bequeaths but "One Titan at a Time."

Few men have had the weird wisdom of Lincoln. The splendors of his regal mind were so mixed as to defy analysis. In him there was a mystic blending of the human and the divine, the secular and the sacred, the lowly and lofty, of the earthly, yet radiant with celestial light, shining as the morning star on our national firmament and heralding the dawn of a better day.

Best of all there was firmly imbedded in the character of Lincoln an imperial conscience which dominated his every action. His ungainly appearance therefore but aptly illustrated the biblical truth that "Man looketh on the outward appearance but God looketh on the heart." Snobbish senators and critical secretaries in his cabinet never suspected his Homeric proportions until his untimely death. They who should have helped hindered. Washington likewise was maligned and opposed in his time and would have despaired had he not been, like Lincoln, "a man sent of God." Stanton embarrassed Lincoln. Seward tried to supplant him, Chase, busy with "Miserable aims that ended with self," schemed to secure the nomination of 1864. McClelland joined those plotting against Lincoln, and even the common people, whom he loved, faltered in the darkest hours, and all but deserted him. That Lincoln left a memorandum in his desk for his probable successor is a tragic witness to the ingratitude of the masses. Yet his magnanimity shone out in that dark period like a morning star, which heralded the dawn of a better day. Douglass insulted him, but Lincoln forgave and honored him at his inaugural. Wendell Phillips called Lincoln "the slave hound of Illinois, but later Lincoln publicly thanked him for his work of abolition. Stanton repeatedly humiliated Lincoln, but Lincoln forgave and forgot and elevated Stanton in his cabinet. Chase was handsome and had a striking appearance, and, realizing he had this superficial advantage of Lincoln, he repeatedly tried to defeat him. But when Lincoln was elected President, he honored Chase by appointing him chief justice. Writing to a friend, Chase said, "I cannot understand this man." How true, because mediocre men lack the vision to appreciate superiority. A month after Lincoln's inauguration Seward actually had the conceit to write Lincoln asking him to resign in his (Seward's) favor. But the unkindest cut of all remained for Greeley. After the defeat of Bull Run he dipped his pen in gall and wrote to Lincoln telling him to surrender to the South. Yet the magnanimity of Lincoln was so amazing that he ignored these insults and later befriended every one of these men when the tide had turned against them.

Today Europe, as well as Japan and Russia is an armed camp busy building higher armaments, and with frenzied fury is preparing for another and greater war. Today the world needs the spirit Lincoln manifested in his second inaugural address when he said, "With malice toward none; with charity for all . . . . let us bind up the nation's wounds . . . . and do all that we may achieve a just and lasting peace among ourselves, and with all nations."

To those who would remind us that Lincoln was not perfect we would reply that even the sun has spots, yet it animates our solar system. Lincoln never formally belonged to any church, although he was a firm believer in Christ and his gospel, and much more a man of prayer than many of his critics. Once he heard Alexander Campbell preach, and stated that he believed that Campbell would become one of the greatest religious leaders of that day. Who knows, but what if the religious world of Lincoln's day had been united as Christ had desired and prayed that Lincoln would have become a Christian in outward obedience as he was in the likable and rare qualities of his mind and heart and soul.

Nothing can prevent the name of Lincoln from steadily climbing to the meridian of our national firmament. With the return of his natal day he shines upon us, a steady, fixed star of the first magnitude, clear, white, radiant. And Lincoln's maximum has not yet arrived, his life and qualities were never more needed than now. Stanton tardily exclaimed when he saw his chief on his deathbed, "Now he belongs to the ages." Lincoln was a "Man that matched the mountains and compelled the stars to look our way and honor us."

"Say—if men ask for him—he has gone home,
Home to the hearts of all that love their k'nd;
And they that seek him there, henceforth shall find
Their man of men—in all men's hearts at home."

Colorado Springs, Colorado.

Christian Evangelist, 2-7-34

Ludlow, Mr.

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 19, 1943

The House met at 11 o'clock a. m.

The Chaplain, Rev. James Shera Montgomery, D. D., offered the following prayer:

Our Father Almighty, heaven and earth are filled with Thy glory and praise becometh the upright in heart. So often, dear Lord, strange fears and anxious hopes mingle in our breasts and then we would draw nearer to Thee and understand. For the joys of human experience do Thou make us tremendously ambitious, lifting us above the leaden things of life, shaping our souls mysteriously into the divine image.

O God, make us strong to bear the burden of and the heat of the day, dominated, enthralled by the spirit of justice; we plead for national deliverance from all social and political ills which undermine the domestic peace of our citizens. O let the spirit of our Master fall upon us like a garment until we deeply realize the sanctity of our heritage for the hope and advancement of mankind. Each day we pray that we may carry with us that patriotic devotion unabated, possessing the kingship of understanding and unity, inspired by the conquering supremacies of life. O lead us with strong wills and might of soul to believe that we are a part of a great purpose that shall carry with it the rapture of moral victory and spiritual progress for the sake of the appealing masses of this sad earth. In our Redeemer's name. Amen.

THE JOURNAL

The Journal of the proceedings of yesterday was read and approved.

ANNIVERSARY OF THE GETTYSBURG ADDRESS

The SPEAKER. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Indiana.

Mr. LUDLOW. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that I may read to the House an address delivered by Abraham Lincoln 80 years ago today.

The SPEAKER. The Chair thinks the Chair is justified in recognizing the gentleman on this request. Without objection, the gentleman may proceed.

There was no objection.

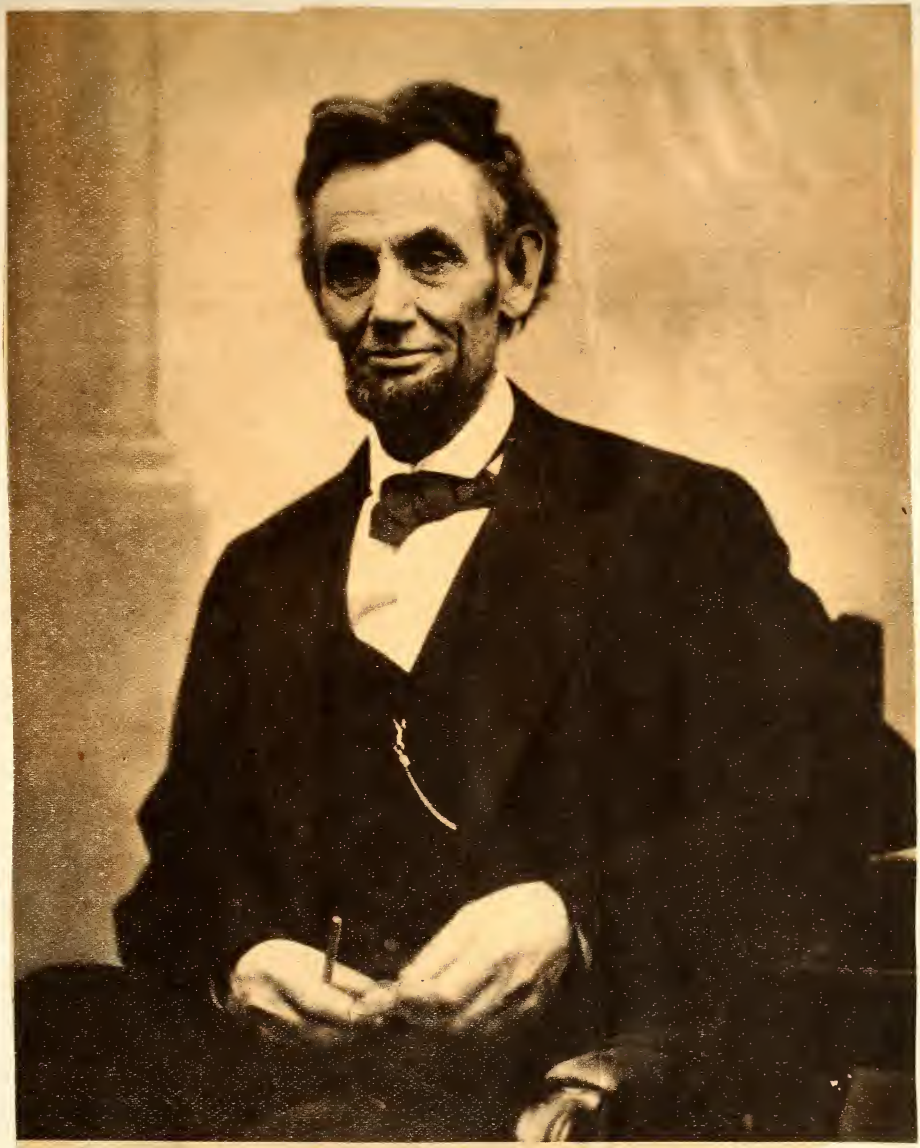
Mr. LUDLOW. Mr. Speaker, fourscore years ago today, standing on an open platform in the chilly atmosphere at Gettysburg, Pa., Abraham Lincoln delivered an address that ranks as the greatest classic in our secular literature. As long as character is recognized and virtue is extolled that address will be known in every land and praised in every tongue. In memory of the man whom the united Nation honors and reveres and in recognition of this special anniversary, I have asked for this time in order that I may read the Gettysburg Address:

Fourscore and seven years ago our fathers brought forth on this continent a new nation, conceived in liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal.

Now we are engaged in a great civil war, testing whether that nation, or any nation so conceived and so dedicated, can long endure. We are met on a great battlefield of that war. We have come to dedicate a portion of that field as a final resting place of those who here gave their lives that that nation might live. It is altogether fitting and proper that we should do this.

But, in a larger sense, we cannot dedicate—we cannot consecrate—we cannot hallow—this ground. The brave men, living and dead, who struggled here have consecrated it far above our poor power to add or detract. The world will little note nor long remember what we say here, but it can never forget what they did here. It is for us, the living, rather to be dedicated here to the unfinished work which they who fought here have thus far so nobly advanced. It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us—that from these honored dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion—that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain—that this Nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom—and that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth.

Ludwig, Emil



ABRAHAM LINCOLN—THE LAST PORTRAIT.
From a Photograph Made Five Days Before the President's Assassination.
Copyright by Henry M. Williams, Courtesy of Creighton Williams.

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A NEW LINCOLN: A WORLD FIGURE

Emil Ludwig Predicts for the American President a Fame in This Century Greater Than in the Last Because His Ideals Have Been Adopted by the Best Statesmanship of Today

By EMIL LUDWIG

A MAN'S fame is in the hands of his biographers. At first it is like a musical finale in which all the motifs of an opera intermingle, as in the "Götterdämmerung"; but later the melodies gradually fade away and only the principle theme is perceptible to the ears of future generations. It is not only the fame of the artist that is subject to changing points of view, so that he is first forgotten, then rediscovered and later forgotten again; men of action, too, long after their death, are lifted above the stream of time or sunk in its vortex.

Is an interval of fifty years sufficient for judgment, or 100 or 500 years? Today, when all tempos have been accelerated tenfold, fame springs up more quickly than ever and passes away with the same unaccountable speed, though after the hundredth birthday calmer reflection supervenes. The life of our own time has been so jarred and dislocated by the World War that we have been cut loose from our past, and our predecessors seem to have remained behind as though upon an immovable island. But this gives us a better view of them; we can survey them more completely, against their background, in the new perspective.

Since the death of Napoleon two decisive names have been brought forth by world crises. The two men were born at almost the same time and faced grave danger and achieved victory at about the same time. For Germany and the United States, in the same decade, were pulled through political crises and rebuilt upon firmer foundations.

Considered from the purely national point of view, both Bismarck and Lincoln may be called leaders and saviors without whom their peoples would have been disunited — without Bismarck Germany would have remained divided, without Lincoln America would have been rent in two. Considered from the point of view of genius, Bismarck seems the superior, his undertaking more original, more active and bolder, its result more astonishing, his impress upon the world greater. But when one compares the characters of the two men, Lincoln comes out ahead; and this is the real reason for the later beginning and the greater duration of his influence.

For when the martial glory of a man fades away, when his realm is destroyed or transformed, when the pressure of his iron, though often beneficent, hand is relaxed and the strong breath of his will vanishes, questions are raised as to his motives, his principles and the real object of his efforts—questions calculated to diminish great reputations and to add to lesser ones. In the long run it is our judgment of character, not of genius, which decides; for if men are not divine judges, they, at least, have the right, after partisan interests have passed from the scene, to form a platonic opinion which is no longer blinded by anything—not even by success. This seems to me to be the case with Bismarck and Lincoln.

The worth of neither man is at all proportionate to his fame. In America every child knows Bismarck, but in Europe many of the so-called educated people do not know Lincoln. American history is far less known to Europeans than European history

founded the United States?" In the most enlightened circles in Berlin, Rome and Paris I found that Lincoln's name suggested "slavery," "Civil War" and "assassination," but no more. Only in London do they know more of Lincoln—first, because of the language; second, because of history; third, because of the splendid "Life of Lincoln" which Lord Charnwood wrote.

is to Americans. Engrossed in a study of Lincoln, I have found in the last two years that in the four or five leading nations of Europe his name awakened little response. For example, one of our principal publishers said to me: "Lincoln? Wasn't he the first President over there, the one who

Upon closer consideration, this does not seem so surprising. The nineteenth century, obsessed with the fateful delusion that the nation counted above all else, eagerly watched the men who undertook to unite nations. On the contrary, the United States, the great example of a welding of half a dozen essentially different peoples, which supplies a striking refutation of all of the race prejudice of Europe, seemed at the same time (the '60s) to be splitting up, not into two nations, but into two equivalent or analogous communities of mixed peoples whose unity had been merely bestowed upon them by history less than a century earlier.

He who puts out a fire quickly at its inception receives less credit than he who extinguishes one after it has spread. Similarly, in spite of the long war, the period of the secession from the Union was so short that posterity has not done full justice to the man who prevented a final schism and consciously reinforced with his own humane ideals the reasons of State which forced him to act—who fought, that is, first for the maintenance of the Union and second against slavery.

Even today, sixty-five years after his death, is he universally honored, even in his own country? Dozens of letters which I have received from persons unknown to me, written ostensibly to help me understand Lincoln, show how even now the enmity of the South has not yet died out. It is astonishing what crimes these Southerners (merchants, not politicians) accuse Lincoln of in their effort to warn the foreigner against a too favorable judgment of him.

Everybody knows, from history or experience, that gratitude is not a virtue of the crowd but an exception among individuals. Nevertheless, immediately after Lincoln's death intelligent Southerners wrote that his assassination was a paricide. So it seems that there are always enlightened observers, even among those close to the scene, and myopic ones, even among those who look on from a distance. But the fact that Lincoln's name arouses antipathy among his own people after two generations, while Bismarck's does not, must be traceable to some special reason.

What was the situation in Europe in Lincoln's time? Everywhere a man dominated and scarcely anywhere had people succeeded in the struggle for self-determination. For it was not only in Prussia that the domineering type of man held sway. Disraeli was lordly in his own way. So was Napoleon III in varying degrees. So was Francis Joseph, the Czar, Victor Emmanuel and Cavour—more or less absolute princes with their intensively, not extensively, as he expressed it in that magnificent message to the miners of the West which he pronounced, like a last wish, a few hours before his death.

This is the road which today leads to enduring fame, as neither the winning of battles nor the conquering of provinces does. Lincoln said:

"I place a high estimate upon the mineral resources of our country, which I believe to be practically inexhaustible. I shall now endeavor to interest the demobilized soldiers in these hidden riches; I shall show them the gold and silver that await them. Tell the miners I shall protect their interests with all my power, for their prosperity is that of the nation. In a few years they will prove that we are the treasure house of the world."

He said this in the morning. In the evening as he entered his carriage he saw the bearer of the communication and called to him: "Don't forget my message to the miners!"

Two hours later he was mortally wounded. His work was done, but his fame came slowly—as slowly as his own development. Even in his native land recognition came only gradually, in Europe not at all. For Lincoln anticipated the spirit of the new century—not as a prophet, but rather with the simplicity of a man who is prompt to think but slow to act and always sensible to the appeal of humanity. His poetic sense, his feeling for simile, became in his active life a sense of justice; and when the farmers of New Salem called him "Honest Abe" they gave a description of him in biblical words which the psychologists of a century later cannot better.

A great human character, he received the mandate of leadership from a young, naïve nation which believed in the force of moral principles. With a melancholy sagacity, with an ironical tolerance, a thorough poet but also a farmer and a practical idealist, he saved his people. Perhaps one could characterize Lincoln's whole life as the attempt of a humanitarian to reconcile law and compassion. This is precisely the goal of all the thoughtful statesmen of our time; for this reason the influence of Lincoln as a personality and a symbol will be greater in the present century than it was in the last.

he asked himself whether the time had not come to flee from himself.

Were not these despondent thoughts a dramatic foreshadowing of a violent death? We can imagine Lincoln living to the old age which his belated development indicated that nature had in store for him, and how later perhaps he might have sat in the little office in Springfield on the door of which in February, 1861, he left hanging the sign "Lincoln & Herndon."

But the heroic picture owes much to the manner of his death. Two distinguished Americans conceded this when I asked two years ago whether Lincoln's name would be so highly honored if he had lived on after the war. One of them, President Coolidge, gave this ingenious indirect reply: "It is difficult to decide, but think what a national hero Wilson would be today if in November, 1918, he had been assassinated in this chair."

Lincoln's character and destiny were more important than his deeds in determining his fame and his position in history. Only now does he begin to influence Europe. For in the nineteenth century Europe's catchwords were nation and power.

* * *

IN America Lincoln was the personification of the feelings of the people, or at least of the majority; for Europe he was a precursor of a time that was yet to come. That time has now arrived; democracy instead of power, humanitarianism instead of narrow nationalism. The whole gamut of ideas which the great Revolution unloosed and which America first adopted (but which first found their classical expression in the works of German poets and thinkers)—these principles, after being held in check for a century in Europe, have now broken through all barriers, and no finer symbol of them can be found than the rough-hewn figure of the rail-splitter of Illinois (whose father said he looked as though he had been carved with an axe but not smoothly planed), in whom God placed that splendid mixture of irony and goodness, of energy and sympathy, always tempered by a certain hesitancy.

With this symbolical visage, which is as unique as that of Dante or Beethoven, with these "human, all too human" qualities, with a character as original and unmistakable as a figure from Shakespeare, Lincoln was destined to a place in history, even if he had not been the exponent of a great people in its most trying crisis. He now emerges from the background of his acts. The struggle of the North and the South and the problem of slavery are long past; America has got far beyond them, but Lincoln's birthday has come to be observed by his people, and perhaps a foreigner may be permitted to take cognizance of it.

Nothing is more dangerous than

fulfillment, nothing more difficult than to remain long in a position of leadership. So long as the traditions of the nation are esteemed as highly as Lincoln esteemed them, America will not fall into the errors which cost Europe a century of progress and ended in fratricidal strife. Today Europe looks across the sea; some watch with envy, some with fear, a few with sympathy, the course that this people, so quickly arrived at world leadership, will take. It has no greater example than that of Lincoln, who staked everything, including life, upon the decision to hold this mixed nation together, but who as early as 1849 opposed an imperialistic war and condemned all territorial conquest. Had he lived, he would have pushed the railways westward, as he dreamed of doing, developed shipping on the great rivers and lakes, applied himself

Lueck, Arthur

Oshkosh (Wis.) Northwestern
11-21-39

LINCOLN GREATEST MAN IN THE WORLD, EXCEPTING CHRIST

So Declares Arthur Lueck of Beaver Dam, Student of Emancipator, in Talk to Rotarians

Arthur Lueck, of Beaver Dam, a student of the great Civil war president, in his talk Monday noon at Rotary club on Lincoln and his cabinet, observed he was the direct antithesis of Hitler, for "everything Lincoln was, Hitler is not."

The speaker, a past district governor of Rotary, proclaimed Lincoln the greatest man the world has known, excepting Christ himself, and as a man who always had the good of America in his mind, despite the condemnation of many he was forced to bear.

Mr. Lueck had many stories to tell in his word parade of members of Lincoln's cabinet, Stanton, secretary of war; Cameron, secretary of war; Smith, secretary of interior; Bates, attorney general; Seward, secretary of state; Welles, secretary of navy; Chase, secretary of treasury; and Blair, postmaster general.

Cameron, one of four cabinet members who were presidential candidates at the 1860 convention, agreed to withdraw for an appointment to the cabinet. He later withdrew from the cabinet and was made ambassador to Russia.

WAS FINEST SPEAKER

Smith, nicknamed "Hairlip," was the finest speaker of the group, excepting Lincoln, the speaker said. Bates, he declared, had the finest conception of the president in calling him the ideal man with only one failing, a lack of will power.

Seward was also a Republican candidate for president in 1860. He proved to be a man ahead of his times and 12 years before Lincoln's election he prophesied slavery would not be extended, Mr. Lueck said, adding that Seward's disappointment was terrific at not receiving the nomination for president, although he stated that no man was better fitted for the presidency than Lincoln.

Welles, who was called "The Old Man of the Sea," built the navy of the north from 90 to 670 ships in four years and raised the manpower from 7,500 to 51,000 seamen, the speaker pointed out, and was the only cabinet member who continued in his office through Lincoln's term.

He spoke of Chase who made a capable secretary of the treasury and who resigned from the cabinet four times before Lincoln finally accepted it. He had aspirations for the presidency, and after his resignation from the cabinet he was named chief justice of the United States.

FOR THREE REASONS

Lincoln remarked with his appointment of Chase as chief justice that he was doing it for three reasons, because he was first in the public mind and because he would hold constitutional the legal tender act and emancipation proclamation, the speaker stated, remarking that as it happened Chase held the legal tender act unconstitutional although he had drawn it up as secretary of the treasury.

Stanton, Mr. Lueck said, was the one man to whom most is owed for a successful conduct of the war. Years before the war, Stanton had called Lincoln a "damned gauky ugly ape" and protested his appearance with Lincoln in the McCormick reaper case, but following the assassination of Lincoln he said he was the greatest ruler of man this world had ever known.

The speaker also told of the plot of the conspirators to assassinate the entire Lincoln cabinet the night of Nov. 14, 1865. Seward was wounded and Stanton was a marked man, although he was saved by the fact that the doorbell at his home would not work and Lincoln was shot and died the following morning.

Lukens, Mrs. Lillie P.
(Daughters of the Union Veterans of the Civil War)

Eve. Bulletin

LLETIN—PHILADELPHIA, MONDAY, FEBRUARY 12, 1934

IN MEMORY OF EMANCIPATOR

Daughters of the Union Veterans of the Civil War place wreath on the Abraham Lincoln tablet in front of Independence Hall today as part of his birthday anniversary celebration. Left to right, are: Mrs. Lillie P. Lukens, president; Mary F. Maier, patriotic instructor, and W. Mae Taylor, chaplin.

Lyons, Rabbi Alexander

The Secret of Lincoln's Strength

by

Rabbi Alexander Lyons

FILLING Dr. S. Parkes Cadman's place at the Bedford Branch Y. M. C. A. yesterday afternoon, Rabbi Alexander Lyons of the Eighth Avenue Temple, Brooklyn, addressed the Men's Conference in observance of Lincoln's Birthday. A program of patriotic music was rendered by the Gloria Trumpeters; Charles Hart, operatic and recording tenor; George E. Betts, chimes soloist, and Howard Wade Kimsey, baritone and song leader. Dr. Lyons's theme was "The Secret of Lincoln's Strength." His address in full follows:

Rabbi Alexander Lyons.

In the first place, I should be insensible to the great privilege that is mine if I failed to acknowledge the fine display of religious liberalism in the invitation to a rabbi to occupy for the first time a distinctly Christian platform of religious effort that has so long been famed for the occupancy of it by that exemplary Christian minister, my beloved friend, Dr. S. Parkes Cadman. And yet it is appropriate that I be allowed to occupy his place for a little while. He speaks in the course of his Sunday addresses to such a multitude of my own people all over the country that for a rabbi to be let in now and then is only consonant with supreme propriety. In the next place, it is with a sense of profound awe that I occupy for the time the place dignified and sanctified by the genial spirituality and power of Dr. Cadman, whose pulpit, pen and practice persistently convert so many souls to higher thinking and nobler living.

My reverence is deepened by the added consciousness that I confront a treatment of Abraham Lincoln as my subject. I feel that in him I face what may be regarded as the finest expression of the nobler possibilities of the American spirit. I believe that I am not wide of the truth when I say that he is the finest flower sprung from the soil of American fertility.

Moses Heard Same Summons.

It is but natural, then, that as I proceed to my task I should do so hearing the same summons that sounded to Moses, the great Lincoln of ancient Israel, to remove my sandals from off my feet for the place whereon I stand is holy ground.

Lincoln's strength finds its first great exemplification in his prototype, the great Abraham of Hebrew history. Unto that prophetic seer came the momentous mandate to leave country, birthplace and home and be a light-bearer of God's message of liberation to a world shackled by the blighting bondage of darkened heathenism.

It was an epochal moment in human history. Abraham yielded a ready and a regal consent. His clod was fired by the compulsion of a supernal summons. So the great Abraham of American history. You will never comprehend him adequately until you see him from the viewpoint of one who drank oft and deeply at that fountain of life whose copious well-spring nestles among the virgin heights of the mountains of God.

Not Concerned With Theology.

Abraham Lincoln was not a Christian, as he himself confessed, as Christians went then, and as too largely they go now. He was not concerned with the theology about Christ. He was too spiritual to be even principally a mere theologian. Nor was he content with creedal conviction or denominational identification. And yet he was a Christian in the sense that his life was inspired by the spirit of Jesus with which he was familiar, whose conduct he sought to emulate and did extensively approximate.

Lincoln was a Christian in the sense in which that term is gaining in favor and application. He was a Christian in the sense that makes many liberals of that faith liberal Jews and many liberal Jews the finest types of Christians. We find this in his embodiment and exemplification of those fundamental things in the life of Jesus which have never been rejected by intelligent Jews and are just coming to their due recognition in the vanguard of progressive Christians.

Lincoln felt deeply his sense of the limitation, the weakness and the dependence of the human material. Here we have the source of religious aspiration. This finds convincing expression in his favorite hymn, "Oh, Why Should the Spirit of Mortal Be Proud?"

Duty a Divine Demand.

Impelled by his conviction and consciousness of human limitation and its need of being divinely supplemented, Lincoln was impelled by an irresistible sense of moral responsibility. With him duty was not a human determination but a divine demand. He felt this with personal application to himself. He felt that he was divinely called and commissioned. He moved across the stirring stage of the great affairs of his time with the majestic poise of one providentially appointed. He felt that "without the assistance of

The last word on Lincoln has not been spoken. It will never be. He was too many-sided, too profound, ever to be completely sounded and explicated by human scrutiny. Only God can account for such a soul. The most that any of us can do is to record our reaction to his majestic might as glimpsed from the viewpoint of our particular vantage of observation.

Appro[illegible] auspices of [illegible] religious [illegible], such as the Y. M. C. A., under whose hospitality I speak, I am going to interpret Lincoln as he impresses me most strongly, not attempting to account for what he was and had accomplished.

Lincoln a Child of God.

To me Lincoln is easily explained, as far as human interpretation can ever satisfactorily unravel anything. I find in him literally a child of God, not that others are not divine in origin, but that God entered into his life more profoundly and palpably than falls to the lot of the generality of men. In this I find the wellspring of his superb and rare power. He was fundamentally and predominantly a spiritual man, whose consciousness flowed from the wellspring of the conviction that basically this is a God-created and God-conducted world. The poet, Oppenheim, sensed this when, in musing upon "The Lincoln Child," he said:

Stars have pushed aside to let him through—
Through heaven's sun-sown deeps
One sparkling ray of God
Strikes the clod—

Verily a sparkling ray of God struck the clod of Lincoln's composition and so irradiated and illuminated it that it exalted and transformed it into that power which has engraved its impress inerasibly upon human record.

Lincoln was like Isaiah who was consecrated to his mission by having his lips warmed to their burning eloquence by a live coal from God's altar. He was like Jeremiah, to whom the indarting of heaven's compulsion was like a fiery restlessness in his bones, compelling him to action through which alone he found serenity and peace. I place Lincoln along with the great prophets of ancient Israel.

The Knee of His Mother.

Like Samuel, he was led by the hand of a mystic motherhood to the altar of religion. His first shrine of relation to the Highest was that holiest of altars, the knee of his mother. Such a man proves to my mind that, as Lowell expressed it, "God is not dead, that he should speak no more, if thou hast wanderings in the wilderness and findest not Sinai, 'tis thy soul is poor."

Lincoln resumed the prophetic lineage. He proved that God speaks as well as spoke. The secret of Lin- the divine being I cannot succeed. With that assistance I cannot fail."

Lincoln's spirituality, his mystic background, find confirmation in his love of the Bible which he knew intimately and consciously, and otherwise appropriated as the stimulus of his spirit and the mainspring of his moral momentum.

Lincoln's love of God, which genuinely and profoundly leavened and impelled his conduct, expressed itself in his motherlike sympathy and inclusive tenderness of regard for his fellowmen. Indeed, he said, "That church would be his over whose altar should be inscribed 'Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart and with all thy soul and with all thy might, and thy neighbor as thyself.'"

Not only was Lincoln heaven-born in the source of his strength, but he resorted regularly and frequently to the spiritual heights for reinvigoration of his impulses and to wing his aspiration to higher reaches of effort and achievement. He was a man of prayer. He prayed oft, piously and efficiently.

Loved His Fellow Men.

Lincoln's fundamental and genuine religiousness is, to my mind, best indicated in his humane inclusiveness and patriotic far-sightedness. Like Abou-Ben-Adhem, he loved his fellow men, not merely individually and near at hand, but universally. And so as the supreme representative of the American spirit, he regarded America as chosen of God, like unto the commitment of ancient Israel, to be a bearer of blessing unto the rest of the world. Washington advised respect for the rest of the world. Lincoln exemplified a sense of practical service to mankind. Whoever scales the mountains of God must be inclusive in his vision, just as one who has ascended the peaks of earth attains to a farther outlook with a wider intake.

Thus might I go on with growing extensiveness to point out, in confirmation of my claim, that the secret of Lincoln's strength is to be found in the acknowledged dependence of the human upon the divine and the persistent recourse of man to God for spiritual strength and moral momentum. Lincoln once said that "It is hard to die and leave one's country no better than if one had never lived for it."

This thought ought to be our dominant consideration as we annually pay homage to that cathedral character, that inreaching of God into human life, that majestic man who, for a brief time, trod majestically the territory of American life and thence became a heritage of the ages. Let us in his memory so promote the union of all good men and women everywhere in the interest of those who ought to become good that we shall keep Lincoln progressively with us, not merely as a memory but as the momentum of an irresistible monition.

BROOKLYN DAILY EAGLE.
FEBRUARY 13, 1928.

Lyons, Rabbi Alexander

Rabbi Lyons Calls Lincoln 'Child of God'

N.Y. H. Sun. 2/25

Tells Y. M. C. A. Meeting Civil War President Was Truly 'Divinely Inspired Like Prophets of Old'

Abraham Lincoln was Divinely inspired, "literally a child of God," in the opinion of Rabbi Alexander Lyons, of the Eighth Avenue Temple, Brooklyn, who spoke yesterday before the men's meeting of the Bedford Branch of the Y. M. C. A. in Brooklyn, on the subject, "The Secret of Lincoln's Strength."

Dr. Lyons spoke in the absence of Dr. S. Parkes Cadman, president of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, whose Sunday afternoon sermons at the Bedford Y. M. C. A. are widely broadcast.

Calls Lincoln "Child of God"

"To me Lincoln is easily explained," the speaker said, "as far as human interpretation can ever satisfactorily unravel anything. I find in him literally a child of God, not that others are not divine in origin, but that God entered into his life more profoundly and palpably than falls to the lot of the generality of men. In this I find the wellspring of his superb and rare power. He was fundamentally and predominantly a spiritual man, whose consciousness flowed from the wellspring of the conviction that basically this is a God-created and God-conducted world."

"I place Lincoln along with the great prophets of ancient Israel," he continued. "He was like Isaiah, who was consecrated to his mission by having his lips warmed to their burning eloquence by a live coal from God's altar. He was like Jeremiah, to whom the indarting of Heaven's compulsion was like a fiery restlessness in his bones compelling him to action through which alone he found serenity and peace. Like Samuel, he was led by the hand of a mystic motherhood to the altar of religion, and like his prototype, the great Abraham of Hebrew history, he was called to be a lightbearer of God's message of liberation to the world."

Admits Lincoln Not Christian

"Abraham Lincoln was not a Christian," Dr. Lyons said, "as he himself confessed, as Christians went then, and as too largely they go now. He was not concerned with the theology about Christ. He was too spiritual to be even principally a mere theologican. Nor was he content with creedal conviction or denominational identification. And yet he was a Christian in the sense that his life was inspired by the spirit of Jesus with which he was familiar, whose conduct he sought to emulate and did extensively approximate.

"Lincoln was a Christian in the sense in which that term is gaining favor and application.

"Let us in his memory so promote the union of all good men and women everywhere in interest of those who ought to became good that we shall keep Lincoln progressively with us, not merely as a memory, but as the momentum of an irresistible monition."

Lyons, Rabbi Alexander

Rabbi Lyons Calls Lincoln 'Child of God'

Tells Y. M. C. A. Meeting Civil War President Was Truly 'Divinely Inspired Like Prophets of Old'

Tribune
Feb 12 1928

Likens Him to Abraham

Says American Was Called on To Be Bearer of Message of World'sLiberation

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